WALTER MILLIS REVIEWS JUSTICE DOUGLAS'S "ALMANAC OF LIBERTY"

THE Nation

November 20, 1954
20¢

# China, India And the West

*by K. M. Pannikar*

*The Elections*

## Dispelling the Mystery

*by Louis H. Bean*

## The Pittsfield Showcase

*by Philip K. Hastings*

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# Letters

## Mr. Merson Complains

*Dear Sirs:* Thanks for calling your readers' attention [see Secret Blacklist, *The Nation,* October 30] to my article, A Business Man's Education in Government, in the October 7 issue of the *Reporter.* I hope they will all read it. Having always regarded *The Nation* as an important and reliable source of liberal views in this country, I wish you had not resorted to two basics of what you and others stridently condemn as McCarthyism—that is, the anonymity of your informant and the Big Lie technique concerning my relations with the Senator. In my State Department tour [as deputy director of the United States Information Agency] I accorded the full measure of respect owing a man duly elected United States Senator and serving by vote of his colleagues as chairman of the Senate's permanent subcommittee on investigations, already well started on an investigation of my agency when I arrived in Washington. Inasmuch as the American people in 1952 had placed its faith in the Eisenhower Administration, in no small part on the issue of communism, I had a positive duty to give McCarthy's charges a fair hearing. This I did and no more. In no single instance in my five months' tour did I do the bidding of McCarthy in the hiring and firing of employees or in any other respect. If you can, name one individual responsible for the direction of an executive branch agency during this period who more effectively and more courageously resisted without any White House support whatsoever the insatiable demands of McCarthy and his henchmen. May I close by adverting to the remarks of the wise old pagan philosopher Symmachus, "The universe is too great a mystery for there to be only one single approach to it," which I understand to mean there is more than one way to skin a cat.

*Newtown Square, Pa.* MARTIN MERSON

## The Author's Answer

*Dear Sirs:* We hope Mr. Merson isn't afflicted with amnesia. He now writes that his deference to Joe McCarthy was simply the respect owing a United States Senator and that he never did more than give McCarthy's charges a fair hearing.

But Mr. Merson had a different story to tell in the *Reporter.* There he was discussing the 1953 dismissal of one of the top United States Information Agency officials in Germany, Theodore Kaghan, who had failed to display enough servility toward Messrs. Cohn and Schine during their visit to Germany. Mr. Merson was honest enough to confess in the *Reporter* that he was among those who ducked the Kaghan issue. "It is to my everlasting shame . . ." Mr. Merson declared.

Well, which was it: just the deference due a Senator or his everlasting shame?

Secondly, I used a pseudonym for my *Nation* article primarily to shield my sources inside the U. S. I. A. Had I signed my name, it might have been easy to trace and peremptorily to discharge my informants.

Finally, none of this is relevant to the fundamental theme of my article—namely, that the U. S. I. A. is continuing clandestinely to pursue its old ways by maintaining a secret blacklist of authors, composers, and painters, including some of America's most distinguished writers and artists. SCRUTINEER

*Washington*

## Wallace Stevens

*Dear Sirs:* John Ciardi's review of Wallace Stevens's "Collected Poems" in your October 16 issue seems to me full of misapprehensions; I suspect that it was hastily written. Maybe not. In any case, I should like to correct Mr. Ciardi on several points, or more precisely to allow Mr. Stevens to correct him.

In "The Necessary Angel, Essays on Reality and the Imagination" (Knopf, 1951), Stevens explains at length his position as realist. I admit that this is a philosophical distinction and not merely what Mr. Ciardi says is "the world's view of itself." But I think Stevens takes very much into consideration what the world's view of itself is. Stevens is less a poet of the ivory tower—which, like Mr. Ciardi, he respects—than Mr. Ciardi may realize, and I don't know that we must admire him the less for that.

Also, I fear it will do little good to make an unfair comparison between Stevens and Frost, both major poets. Some poets are no doubt more widely known than others, and their relative importance changes. Stevens is surely no more of a "Great Unread" than Marianne Moore, say, or Ransom, or Tate, or Crane; or Spenser, or Marvell. I'm fairly certain that Mr. Ciardi is perfectly well aware of this, and can give me more examples than I can give him.

I'd like to counterpose to what Mr. Ciardi says is Stevens's point of view what Stevens says is his point of view. Ciardi refers to Stevens's "absolute insistence that imagination is more 'real' than reality and his ascetic refusal to accept in his poems the reality of the 'real' world." Stevens says, on the "nature of poetry," that poetry is "an interdependence of the imagination and reality as equals." For Stevens too "the structure of poetry and the structure of reality are one." STEVE FELDMAN

*Cedarhurst, N. Y.*

## "Outlawing" Unions?

*Dear Sirs:* While there has been considerable public comment on the Communist Control Act of 1954 as it relates to the "outlawing" of the Communist Party, little has been said, at least in the press, about the sections which place labor unions under the control of the Subversive Activities Control Board.

The Butler bill, incorporated in the Communist Control Act, provides that the Attorney General may file a petition alleging that a union is a "Communist-infiltrated" organization. The Subversive Activities Control Board then holds hearings and upon a determination that the charges of the Attorney General are sustained, and subject to the action of the courts, issues an order which has the effect of destroying the union.

The criteria which the new law provides for the board's consideration in making such determination are so vague on the one hand and so broad and pervasive on the other that they violate every concept of constitutional protection.

One of the criteria is: "To what extent, if any, the personnel and resources of such organization are, or within three years have been, used to further or promote the objectives of any such Communist organization, government, or movement." Would every organization in the United States have to check to determine whether or not the lawful objectives it would normally pursue under its constitution are also those of some "Communist" organization?

The Butler bill has been condemned by every major section of organized labor. The Goldwater-Rhodes bill, as George Meany, president of the A. F. of L., has said, "adds up to licensing of unions. It eliminates and destroys unions." The C. I. O. has said, "Government regulations of trade unions as proposed in the Butler, Goldwater, and Velde bills . . . would not merely encroach upon the rights of workers to choose their own unions; they would give the government the power of life and death over all unions." And the United Mine Workers said: "[The bills] are a clever ruse by which a man can be accused of 'guilt by association' in one particular city and the whole wage structure and working conditions in a particular industry outlawed nation-wide." The C. I. O. Oil Workers Union made the pithy comment that if the Butler bill passed, "no union could survive unless approved by the political party in power."

It is a historical truism that outlawry of Communists and their party is always followed by outlawry or complete control of labor unions. The object of such legislation is to stifle dissent. Labor unions and the working people who constitute their membership are the greatest fountainhead of dissent against reactionary political and economic policies. DAVID SCRIBNER

*New York*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Volume 179, Number 21
New York, Saturday, November 20, 1954

THE Nation

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

EDITORIALS

# The Shape of Things

## Talks with Russia

One of the most important questions for Premier Mendès-France to take up during his stay in this country is the proper timing of talks with Moscow. If it does nothing more, Russia's formal proposal of an all-Europe meeting to discuss security and a German settlement pushes this item to the top of the agenda. For the point and purpose of the new Soviet move is to convince the West that the rearmament of Bonn will be a block, not an aid, to a general settlement.

Recognition that a settlement must be tried for has become high policy on both sides of the Great Divide. The recent speeches of top Russian leaders reveal a concerted, double-pronged propaganda drive against the London-Paris agreements and in favor of some new deal for Germany and Europe. At the same time Moscow's efforts to establish better relations with Turkey and Yugoslavia, its acquiescence in the Trieste decision, and its manifold overtures to Western nations for increased trade constitute a considerable fund of "deeds" designed to fortify its words.

That the West accepts all this as indicating something substantial and new in Soviet policy is also clear in statements made over the past week or so by Mr. Eisenhower, Sir Winston Churchill and Mr. Eden, Mr. Pearson, and even Dr. Adenauer, who not only advocated a non-aggression pact between a completed Western European alliance and the Soviet bloc but has welcomed the Russian proposal for a European conference. His single objection was to the suggested date, November 29, which he thought too early. All of these statements indicate that peace is in the wind, if not yet on solid ground. Only a sober desire to contribute to the reduction of tension can explain, for example, the President's amazing moderation in the matter of the shooting down of an American war plane over Hokkaido.

## The Question of Timing

The biggest obstacle in the way of an early and honest test of Russian intentions is the insistence that it must await final all-around ratification of the German rearmament agreements. In fact, the formula generally used goes farther still. Both the United States and Britain have talked as if no negotiations with Moscow could begin until German divisions are in existence. But Mendès-France is supposed to favor talks carried on parallel with the process of ratification—in other words, while the parliaments are still debating the subject. This is a very different idea, and one that offers a chink of hope to those who believe that ratification will be the signal for an intensified arms race.

Which is Western policy? The public has a right to know. In discussing the new Russian note with the President and Secretary of State, Mr. Mendès-France will have an excellent opportunity to clear up this basic ambiguity once and for all. He should then give the facts to his own anxious compatriots and the world.

## Can the Senate Be Intimidated?

If Senator McCarthy had never been guilty of contemptuous behavior, his conduct during the current debate on the censure motion would amply support the charge. Those of his colleagues who are not on his side are either "unwitting handmaidens" of the Communist Party or "involuntary servants" of the Kremlin. What the Senator is now saying, of course, is that the Senate is "Communist-infiltrated" if not "Communist-dominated." The "march on Washington" was his idea. The loud cheers from the corridors that served as a fanfare for his smiling entrance into the Senate chamber came from a claque he had organized and assembled. Even Senator Dirksen has entered a mild protest over the tension which these demonstrations are building up in Washington. Why, then, doesn't the Senate identify the powerful behind-the-scenes forces that are supporting McCarthy in this effort to subvert its authority? Is the Vice-President party to a plot to interfere with orderly parliamentary procedures in the Senate? Senator Watkins's colleagues should ponder his grim comment: "I sometimes wonder if I am on trial here. I was sent out as an investigator, but it appears I am on trial." As usual, Senator McCarthy has succeeded in changing the issue. No longer is it a question of whether he should be censured; the real issue is now whether the Senate can be intimidated. Never before has its authority and prestige been so directly and dramatically challenged.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# In This Issue


EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things 433

The Diplomat *by Eric Sevareid* 435

ARTICLES

Pooling the Atom *by J. Alvarez del Vayo* 436

Dispelling the Mystery:
Meaning of the Vote *by Louis H. Bean* 437

Pittsfield Showcase:
Close-up of the Voter
*by Philip K. Hastings* 439

Sino-Indian Accord:
A Step Toward Asian Peace
*by K. M. Pannikar* 441

Defense Problem: 1960
A Short Story *by Ralph Winnett* 444

BOOKS

The Massive Tree of Freedom
*by Walter Millis* 446

Id Over Superego *by Robert Smith* 447

Books in Brief 448

ART *by S. Lane Faison, Jr.* 449

THEATER *by Harold Clurman* 450

MUSIC *by B. H. Haggin* 451

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 594
*by Frank W. Lewis* opposite 452

LETTERS opposite 433



## Editorial Board

Freda Kirchwey — *Editor and Publisher*
Carey McWilliams — *Editorial Director*
Lillie Shultz — *Director, Nation Associates*
Victor H. Bernstein — *Managing Editor*
J. Alvarez del Vayo — *Foreign Editor*

Martin Solow — *Assistant to the Publisher*

Harold Clurman — *Theater*
B. H. Haggin — *Music*
Gladys Whiteside — *Copy Editor*
Caroline Whiting — *Assistant Literary Editor*
Mary Simon — *Advertising Manager*

*Contributing Editors:* Andrew Roth, Alexander Werth, Howard K. Smith, Carolus, Keith Hutchison, H. H. Wilson, W. Macmahon Ball, Maxwell Geismar, Bruce Catton.



*The Nation*, November 20, 1954. Volume 179, No. 21

*The Nation*, published weekly and copyright, 1954, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Company, 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas.

*Subscription Prices: Domestic*—One year $7; Two years $12; Three years $17. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian $1.

*Change of Address:* Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

*Information to Libraries: The Nation* is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.


## Once Again: Mr. Justice Harlan

Justice John M. Harlan, who served on the Supreme Court from 1877 to 1911, has been doubly honored: his historic dissent in Plessy vs. Ferguson (1896) was adopted as the law of the land in the court's unanimous decision barring racial segregation in the public schools, and now his grandson has been appointed justice. Partial to the grandfather, *The Nation* was predisposed to look with favor on the grandson. All the same we did some checking among those who know what needs to be known about an appointee to the court but who are neither close friends nor partisans of Judge Harlan. For example, Leonard J. Emmerglick, who served for some ten years in the anti-trust division of the Department of Justice. Mr. Emmerglick represented the government in a successful anti-trust prosecution, which took four months to try, against certain companies represented by Judge Harlan, then a member of the firm of Root, Ballantine, Harlan, Bushby, and Palmer. What Mr. Emmerglick told us, he said we might quote directly: "Judge Harlan is a lawyer who honors the highest traditions of the American bar. He has remarkable legal ability, with immense experience and skill as a trial lawyer, and is familiar with large affairs. He's a man of integrity and fine character." Chats with eight or ten members of the New York bar, of quite diverse interests and clientele, drew equally enthusiastic comments. One well-known civil-liberties lawyer said something about Judge Harlan that was, we thought, of special interest: "He's every inch a lawyer and not, thank God! a politician."

At the moment the court is overweighted with politicians; it should be strengthened by the appointment of a lawyer of Judge Harlan's attested ability and integrity. His conservative background and Wall Street connections do not disturb us. After reading the late Chief Justice Vinson's decision in the Dennis case, we came to the conclusion that the appointment of one or more Wall Street lawyers might be just what the court needed. Once again it will be a pleasure to note, in the court's reported decisions, the name of Mr. Justice Harlan.

## The Saar: Victory or Defeat?

The agreement to settle the Saar issue on the basis of a "Europeanization" of the territory was acclaimed by the West as new proof both of Premier Mendès-France's extraordinary talent for solving difficult problems and of Chancellor Adenauer's superb statesmanship. The French Premier certainly devoted all his unusual energy to obtaining an agreement that would protect France's economic interests and also protect his country against the day when the good "Europeans" of Bonn are replaced by the old familiar Pan-Germans demanding the return of the Saar.

But the French victory, part of the price Germany had




LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to pay for rearmament and membership in NATO, almost wrecked Adenauer. The halo that was descending upon the Chancellor as the result of his tremendous gains at London and Paris was suddenly transformed into a rain of reproaches from the most diverse sections of West German opinion. Opposition of the Social Democrats had been expected; not so the resistance of the Free Democrats and the All-German (refugee) Bloc, which have announced that they will vote for everything agreed upon in Paris except the Saar accord.

But the opposition of the Rightists, who in the long run are more interested in rearmament and sovereignty than in the Saar, cannot be counted upon, and the Chancellor is probably justified in expecting parliamentary approval of the London-Paris agreements by February at the latest. His only major reliable opponent continues to be the German Social Democrats, who for once are showing more spirit than their French colleagues. In France the Socialist Party Congress last week approved the London-Paris accords by a vote of 2,187 to 454, with 93 abstentions. The debate showed that the step was taken unwillingly. But taken it was, and if in France's next general election the Communists, the only large French group which still opposes German rearmament, gain at the expense of the Socialists, the latter will have only themselves and their general secretary, Guy Mollet, to blame.

# The Diplomat

BY ERIC SEVAREID

SOMETIMES, to add to the meaning of the headlines, a reporter must be personal. Eleven years ago I was a war correspondent flying toward China over the infamous "hump." There came a terrifying moment when the passengers, mostly G. I.'s, stood near the door trying to summon the courage to bail out of the crippled plane. Precious moments passed. Then one of the three civilians aboard, the diplomat who clutched a dispatch case to his chest, gave us a wry smile and leaped out. His action broke the paralysis; we all followed; and all of us but one survived.

In the weeks that followed, we were never entirely sure we would get out of those jungle mountains; in such circumstances men learn truly to know one another: who is weak, who is afraid, who is impetuous, and who is strong and calm and prudent. As the time passed, the G. I.'s and I began to recognize the civilian with the carefully guarded dispatch case as one among us with a calm and natural courage, as one who would never panic, who never complained. He was the one we chose, for common sense and discretion, to deal with the touchy and dangerous Naga head hunters, our undecided hosts. Mostly we feared Japanese patrols, and a day came when we heard there was a patrol not far away. The colonel in charge gave orders that we three civilians, in case of attack, were to take our guns and try to escape, while the soldiers remained to fight. It was the diplomat who said, "In the first place this would be dishonorable. In the second place, we'd never get out." Fortunately, there was no attack.

There was, however, a long and painful hike in rain and heat for all of us. There were moments when another step seemed quite impossible. In such moments it was generally the diplomat who would sing out with something like, "Onward and upward with the arts!" and we would laugh and gasp and keep on climbing. I began to faint with heat and thirst on one suffocating slope; the man who left his half pint of water with me—all he had—was, of course, the diplomat.

AFTER we emerged into India and the military reports were in, there was a move in the air force to decorate our diplomat for his outstanding personal conduct. I do not know if he ever received the decoration. But none of us in that strange party, I think, would have disputed the choice. For I thought then, as I think now, that if ever again I were in deep trouble, the man I would want to be with would be this particular man. I have known a great number of men around the world, under all manner of circumstance. I have known none who seemed more the whole man; none a more finished civilized product in all that a man should be—in modesty and thoughtfulness, in resourcefulness and steady strength of character.

The name of this man is John Paton Davies. He is the man Secretary of State Dulles, on the recommendation of a five-man board, has just broken on the wheel of official disgrace—the Foreign Service officer dismissed, three years short of retirement and pension, after giving twenty-three years of his life, and almost life itself, in the arduous service of his government. Eight times he was investigated; eight times he was cleared. One by one the politically inspired charges of communism or disloyalty or perjury were dropped; the ninth board came up with something new, called defects of character. Mr. Davies is not, concluded the board and Mr. Dulles, of sufficient judgment, discretion, and reliability.

Sufficient, one may ask, unto *what?* Their test can only have been of supernatural design. I saw their victim measured against the most severe tests that mortal man can design. Those, he passed. At the head of the class.

---

*ERIC SEVAREID is a news analyst for the Columbia Broadcasting System. This is the text of a broadcast he made on November 8; it was entered into the* Congressional Record *on November 12 by Senator Lehman over the protests of Senator McCarthy.*



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# Pooling the Atom . . *by J. Alvarez del Vayo*

*United Nations*

LAST week the Political Committee made considerable progress towards establishing, under Western initiative, an international agency to administer a research program for the peaceful development of atomic energy. The first major step in the program is to be the convening next summer of an international scientific conference.

The exact status to be accorded the proposed agency has been the subject of considerable debate. The Russians are demanding a body which would be responsible to the Security Council. The United States took a somewhat similar view in a memorandum circulated among U. N. delegations last March. Washington has since changed its mind, however, and the majority on the Political Committee now agree that the body shall have a status analogous to that of the specialized agencies, which enjoy considerable autonomy.

The debate contained as much of politics as of technology. A year ago the atomic-pool idea, the genesis of the plan now before the Political Committee, seemed to open the way for transforming destructive atomic stockpiles into sources of creative energy. Now ambitions have suddenly become more modest. The U. N. is put at the periphery rather than at the heart of the atomic-pool plan; instead of an international pool of atomic materials there will be bilateral agreements for sharing them.

STILL a step has been taken towards the development, under international auspices, of the peace-time use of the atom. How long a step it is hard to tell. It is not even certain how soon atomic energy can be economically harnessed to industrial use. The forthcoming scientific conference may yield valuable information on this point.

The whole project has a complex history. As early as the winter of 1945 the United States, the Soviet Union, and Great Britain signed an agreement in Moscow aimed at creating an atomic-energy commission that would function under the aegis of the United Nations. A few months later—on January 24, 1946—such a commission was in fact constituted for the purpose of controlling the development of atomic energy in such a way as to secure its utilization "exclusively for peaceful aims." For nearly seven years not a single step toward the desired goal was recorded. But on December 8, last year, President Eisenhower made his dramatic proposal for an international "atomic pool" which would be used not only for the advancement of industry in highly developed countries but especially as an invaluable adjunct to the assistance programs for the underdeveloped countries.

Although the President failed to link his proposal with plans for atomic disarmament, his suggestion nevertheless aroused interest in all countries, including the Soviet Union. It has been charged that the Russians were hostile to the plan from the beginning because—so it has been said—they are not interested in improving the living standards, and thereby increasing the resistance to communism, of non-Communist countries. The Russians deny this, emphasizing early and interested comment on the proposal by Soviet scientists. But whatever Moscow's position in the past has been, there is no doubt about its interest today. In the course of the First Committee debate Mr. Vishinsky stressed that while the President's original suggestion made a special point of providing sources of electric power to underdeveloped areas, the plan now formally presented to the U. N. by Ambassador Lodge almost ignores this phase. The Soviet delegate expressed regret that the new version "narrowed" the scope and form of the international cooperative effort envisaged by the President.

Many speakers paid homage to the "constructive character" of Mr. Eisenhower's proposal and noted with satisfaction that, after having spent weeks debating disarmament, during which the destructive potential of the atom was stressed, they could now turn to its constructive aspects. But of course it is impossible to separate the two. The need for cooperating in peace-time uses of atomic energy grows in the measure that its use for war acquires increasingly horrible implications. Nor is the urgency lessened by the continuing test explosions in the Soviet Union—explosions which are smashing all the illusions of Western preponderance in nuclear weapons. Prime Minister Churchill, with his unequaled flair for dramatizing the turning points of history, told the House of Commons last summer that the approaching stalemate in atomic power between the United States and the U. S. S. R. was forcing upon the world a totally new approach to the problem of international relations. The changing situation, he added, has modified the outlook of every military expert with whom he has talked.

UNDER such conditions it is not surprising that this Assembly should have produced enough evidence to indicate that, given the will on both sides, agreement between East and West can be reached both on disarmament and on an "atomic pool." Eisenhower's original proposal, with its emphasis on aid to underdeveloped countries, could begin a new chapter in man's fight against misery and hunger. The possibilities were underscored by Dr. Maghnad Saha, honorary director of the Institute of Nuclear Physics at Calcutta University, when on a recent visit to the United States he referred to the obstacles in the path of India's industrialization. A country enormously rich in raw materials finds itself strangled by the lack of conventional power sources—water, coal, petroleum. "If cheap atomic power does come to us," said Dr. Saha, "it will mean a revolution in India."

The current debate has been encouraging in other ways. It is clear, for instance, that countries other than the "big three" are prepared to contribute more to the proposed atomic pool in the way of materials and know-how than had been generally assumed. Jules Moch of France referred to vast mineral resources, rich in uranium, which have been discovered in southern Madagascar; he announced that his country would soon rank fourth in plutonium production, bested only by the United States, the Soviet Union, and Britain.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# DISPELLING THE MYSTERY

## Meaning of the Vote . . . *by Louis H. Bean*

THE results of the recent elections can be made to look mysterious, accidental, or just obvious, depending on the angle from which you examine them. The most excitement was aroused, of course, by the nip-and-tuck character of the races in New York, New Jersey, Massachusetts, Ohio, Michigan, Iowa, Wyoming, and Oregon, with the inevitable sequel, the recounts. The mysteries loom large when you search for the effects of issues and campaign strategy, more specifically when you try to decide how much influence should be credited to issues, Eisenhower's appeals, McCarthyism, and the obvious substitute for McCarthyism introduced into the campaign by Republican last-minute strategy in the form of Nixonism. I am inclined to take the view that by and large the election results were foreseeable in fairly definite terms, that the Republicans saw the significance of an almost inevitable mid-term setback, and that in the difference between what the election looked like during the first half of October and the actual outcome lies the answer to some of the questions now being raised.

What were the prospects for the election during the first half of October? No different than they were a year earlier when I had occasion to test what had happened to the political trend during the first year of the Eisenhower Administration. In a poll in four barometric areas across the country it was found that Republican strength had dropped about five percentage points in questions relating to the Congress, but on an Eisenhower vs. Stevenson question it was found that Eisenhower's popularity had diminished noticeably in the South, very little if at all in the North. Had an election been held at this time, a year ago, the decline would have meant, according to my interpretation, a possible Democratic gain of about forty seats in the House, with the results in the Senate quite uncertain. Other tests and subsequent developments showed a remarkable stability in the national political balance right up to the first part of October.

I should record at this point that early in 1954 the dominant question about the 1954 elections had to do with the role and influence of Senator McCarthy. Examining his claim to a record-breaking victory in his own reelection in Wisconsin and to having greatly helped not only Eisenhower but a number of Senators in their victory, I found, rather, that much of Wisconsin had actually shifted away from McCarthy between 1946 and 1952, that he was in fact the low man on the Republican list in Wisconsin, and, what was even more surprising, that his campaigning in behalf of Republican Senatorial candidates in 1952 actually helped the Democratic candidates by about five percentage points. From this I concluded that it was the Democrats who should hire him to campaign *against* their candidates in the coming elections! It is said that the Republican strategists saw the point.

The next test of the political wind came from the Northwest, where cold winds usually originate. The April primaries in Alaska showed a marked Democratic gain, and on the basis of historical analysis I concluded that it foreshadowed the reelection of Delegate Bartlett by three to one or better, that the Alaska legislature would be quite turned around in October with Democrats winning twenty of the twenty-four seats instead of the four won in 1952, and that the October election in Alaska would foreshadow a Democratic gain in the November national election of about forty seats.

Before the Alaska election in October corroborated the conclusions drawn from the April primaries, the Maine elections took place, with results that fitted into the general expectations. The twelve-point Democratic gain and the election of a Democratic Governor for the first time since 1934 also pointed to a national Democratic gain in November of about forty seats. The meaning of these events in the far Northwest and the far Northeast, corroborated by the periodic Gallup polls showing Republicans to be less strong than in 1952, was not lost on political strategists. It is said that shortly afterward the Republicans decided to play their strongest card in an attempt to retain control of Congress, the Communists-in-government card.

AT THAT juncture what else was reasonably certain about the outcome of the 1954 election? If one assumed a normal mid-term battle, conducted without resort to unusually low-level tactics, without the President stepping down from the White House into local contests, and without his appeal to voters to elect Republican Congressmen whether or not they would support his program, the following developments were in prospect. The Democrats were bound to pick up most of their gains in the House in the Northeast—the states east of the Mississippi and north of the Ohio River and the Mason-Dixon Line. The rest would come partly from the farm areas east of the Rockies, partly from the Pacific

### Pro or Anti What?

What was the meaning of the November 2 returns in terms of the voters' reactions to party allegiances, issues, and personalities? *The Nation* gave some of the answers last week in extended editorial comment and in on-the-spot reports from eight key states. In the article which begins on this page, Louis H. Bean puts the election in historical perspective; in the article immediately following, Philip K. Hastings looks at the results through the showcase of the unique Pittsfield Project.

*LOUIS H. BEAN is one of the very few political analysts who foresaw Harry Truman's victory in 1948. He is the author of "How to Predict Elections" and "The Midterm Battle."*



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

states. This distribution was reasonably sure since most of the marginal seats won by the Republicans in 1952 were in the Northeast quadrant and here too were most of the areas with substantial unemployment. Local issues on the Pacific coast and some farm discontent promised to swing the other marginal seats to the Democrats.

Normally a mid-term election means a loss to the party in power of from twenty-five to thirty seats. In 1950, for example, the Democrats lost twenty-seven. The somewhat greater loss expected this year could be ascribed to unemployment and lower farm income, and the likelihood of still lower farm income when the full flexible-price-support program came into effect.

With regard to the Senate, the prospects were not much more certain in early October than they had appeared earlier in the year, but the historical-statistical approach pointed to a possible net Democratic gain of two seats; this would give the Democrats control of the Senate as well as the House but with about as narrow a margin as the Republicans had in 1952. On the assumption of a five-point Republican loss in position since 1952 and taking note of strong personalities, the Senate seats in danger were those of Kentucky and Michigan. But since it is quite a feat to spot the outcome of individual races, it was necessary to add that if not these two Senate seats then some combination of other Senate races might give the Democrats their margin of control.

One other fact about the 1954 mid-term elections was clear in advance. The voting record shows apathy in every mid-term election. In the 1920's, during the last previous Republican Administrations, Congressional voting in mid-term elections fell off on the average about 25 per cent from Congressional voting in Presidential years. During the Democratic Administrations of the 1930's and 1940's the average shrinkage was about 15 per cent, if we leave out the two exceptional years, 1942 and 1946.

Comparing these statistical clues before the shift in Republican strategy with the final results, we see that in the Senate the Democrats gained the expected narrow margin of control. They did win in Michigan and Kentucky, lost in Iowa and Colorado, and won in Oregon.

Courtesy Washington *Post*

*"Close man with a razor, isn't he?"*

In the House the Democrats won 232 seats, a net gain of 18 over their total in 1952. They also gained eight governorships. As expected, most of the House seats gained were in the Northeast. The net gain was reduced in part by the failure to recapture Southern seats lost in 1952, in part by the loss of two seats to the Republicans in Texas and Florida. The total vote cast, with no final figure available as yet, is estimated at about 42,000,000, which represents a drop of 15,500,000, or about 26 per cent, from the 1952 vote, a substantially greater falling off than occurred in 1934, 1938, or 1950, the mid-term elections not affected by our being at war.

WE are now in a position to evaluate broadly the general features of this election. The Eisenhower appeal for a large turnout apparently failed, for relatively more voters stayed away this year than during the previous Democratic Administrations. The Senate results on the whole are about in line with what was expected, and therefore no net credit can be assigned to Nixon's vigorous efforts in behalf of Republican Senatorial candidates. I say "net credit," for there is always the possibility that the Democratic victories would not have been by such extremely narrow margins as they were, say, in Montana and Wyoming had Nixon not campaigned so extensively in the far West. In Oregon his hard work for the Republican candidate shows up as a net *Democratic* gain of about twelve percentage points over 1952. Without having made the necessary detailed analysis I cannot say definitely, but the question does arise whether Nixon's particular style of campaigning was not as detrimental to Republican candidates in 1954 as McCarthy's tactics were in 1952.

If Nixon's effectiveness is questionable and if voters generally failed to respond to Eisenhower's appeal for a large Republican turnout, how explain the fact that the Democrats' net gain in House seats was only about half that indicated by early October signposts, while their



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

success in the gubernatorial races was so much greater? I offer this tentative explanation. Voters are most likely to know their Governors, less likely to know their Senators, and as a rule know very little about their Representatives. In recent polls in selected states from Massachusetts to California, from New Mexico to Minnesota, it was found that about 80 per cent of the voters questioned did not even know the names of their Congressmen and more than two-thirds did not know their Senators—except in the cases of Humphrey of Minnesota, Gillette of Iowa, and Anderson of New Mexico. Under these circumstances the President's appeal for a Republican Congress may have increased the proportion of the light vote cast for Republican Congressional candidates but not for Senatorial or gubernatorial candidates. Here voters may have preferred to exercise their own judgment.

SINCE national issues were allowed to play so little part in this mid-term election, there is little evidence as to their influence. Unemployment, it is generally agreed, helped Democrats in a number of the marginal districts in the industrial Northeast. The power issue obviously helped Democrats in the Northwest. But as to the third main issue, supposed to affect the farm vote, there is considerable confusion. Secretary Benson and various outstanding metropolitan newspapers have concluded that farmers have not turned against the Administration's flexible-price-support program for basic commodities, and they cite the defeat of Senator Gillette of Iowa as proof. But the Administration did in fact suffer a substantial setback in Iowa and elsewhere. In 1952 the Iowa Congressional races averaged 67 per cent Republican. This year Iowa voted only 52 per cent for Senator Gillette's Republican opponent, Martin, while voting 58 per cent for Republican Congressional candidates—a decline in Congressional strength of about nine percentage points. The Congressional political balance in Iowa is again close to that of 1942, 1946, and 1950, but not quite so Republican as in these pre-Eisenhower years. Those who are beginning to speculate about the farmer vote in 1956 should perhaps be warned that the 1954 Iowa results have no prophetic meaning. Like other farm states Iowa shows great independence and selectivity. In 1948, for example, Iowa gave 44 per cent of its vote to Democratic Congressional candidates, 52 to Truman, and 58 to Gillette.

Minnesota, another example of farm sentiment, shows a more striking trend against the Republican Administration. In 1942 the Congressional vote was 40 per cent Democratic; in 1946, 41 per cent; in 1950, 47 per cent; this year, 52 per cent. This does not look like full farmer acceptance of the Eisenhower farm program.

We shall probably hear more and more about 1956 prospects as interest in the 1954 election gives way to interest in the relations between a Republican President and a Democratic Congress. Republicans are undoubtedly right in their view that their 1954 losses might have been greater had Eisenhower not come to their rescue. With less than a normal mid-term setback they may be tempted to think that they stand just as good a chance of winning in 1956, with Eisenhower heading their ticket, as they did in 1952, and of winning as handsomely. There is of course no guaranty that economic conditions or a President's popularity will always remain at a high level. It should also be pointed out, perhaps, that Democrats may be tempted to lean hopefully on the old, misunderstood fact that the party that takes control of Congress in the mid-term election will take control of the White House in the next Presidential election. This rule, which usually works with the aid of an economic depression, did not work for the Republicans in 1948. The 1956 political chickens cannot be counted now, for they have not yet been hatched.

# PITTSFIELD SHOWCASE

## Close-up of the Voter . . *by Philip K. Hastings*

ALTHOUGH there were but few indications of a Democratic trend in New England in 1954, it is clear that the political winds in this region have shifted a good deal since President Eisenhower's landslide victory in 1952. This important development is documented both by the election returns and by the findings of the intensive political study of Pittsfield, Massachusetts, being carried on by myself and Professor Burns of the Department of Political Science of Williams College.

The surprising election of the Democrat, Muskie, as Governor of Maine last September and Ribicoff's hair's-breadth victory over Republican John Lodge in Connecticut this month were the high points of the Democrats' scattered display of strength in traditionally Republican New England. In the whole six states the Democrats picked up but one additional seat in the House of Representatives—in Massachusetts' Eighth District—but some of the Congressional races were considerably closer than two years ago. In New Hampshire's First District, for example, Republican Chester Merrow squeezed in by only 750 votes. As usual there was a Republican sweep in Vermont. The Johnson (R)-Brannon (D) gubernatorial contest, however, was decided by a plurality of only slightly more than 5,000—an unusually narrow margin.

In Massachusetts, considered by many a critical state this year, Governor Herter won reelection by approximately 75,000 votes, as compared to his 1952 margin of 14,000. Senator Saltonstall beat his

*PHILIP K. HASTINGS is an assistant professor of psychology and custodian of the Elmo Roper Public Opinion Collection at Williams College.*



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Democratic opponent, Foster Furcolo, by nearly 29,000 votes. In 1952 the Republican incumbent, Henry Cabot Lodge, lost by a decisive 65,000.

Certainly the spotty Democratic erosion of Republican strength throughout the New England area in 1954 was due in part to minor local issues. The interesting question is whether there has been a general shift in political attitudes since 1952. The study of Pittsfield, a city which may be regarded as typical of the heavily populated Northeast, gives us some insight into the factors which led the voters to make their November 2 decisions. Among the central findings are the following:

1. The political issues uppermost in the minds of the people in this section of the nation in 1954 were not the cost of living, corruption in government, Far Eastern tension, and labor strife as in 1952, but unemployment, internal communism, and foreign policy.

2. During the past two years President Eisenhower has lost a measurable amount of his impressive popular support. Those people who moved out of the Eisenhower column were largely political "independents" from the labor occupational group.

3. Although feeling about McCarthy apparently ran high, there was little evidence that it underlay voting behavior.

INFORMATION about the political attitudes of the people of Pittsfield was systematically gathered during the campaign months of both the 1952 and 1954 elections. A number of community-wide polls, case studies of the members of a small panel group, and a careful examination of locally important mediums of political communication were among the methods used. Although in some of the lesser races Pittsfield has occasionally swung into the Republican column, like most Northeastern cities it has voted Democratic in the Presidential contests of the past quarter-century. In 1952, however, following the trend in the whole nation, it gave President Eisenhower a majority. This was the first time since 1924 that a Republican Presidential candidate had been successful in this community of 53,000 people.

"As you see it, what are the most serious problems facing the United States today?" the voters were asked in both 1952 and 1954. As shown in the following table, their views have changed in the past two years. Reflecting in part the end of the fighting in Korea, the question of tension in the Far East was mentioned 17 per cent less often this year than in 1952. Much less concern was also shown over taxation, the cost of living, labor problems, and corruption in government.

With the drop in importance of these issues greater emphasis was placed on unemployment, internal communism, and the government's foreign policy. The one major issue of crucial concern in both 1954 and 1952 was the threat of a third world war.

*1952-54 Political Issues: Direction and Amount of Change*

| | *Per Cent* |
|---|---|
| Unemployment | +14 |
| Communism in the United States | +14 |
| United States foreign policy | + 9 |
| Labor strife | − 9 |
| Taxation | −13 |
| Corruption in government | −15 |
| Far Eastern tension | −17 |
| The cost of living | −21 |

Most of the persons concerned primarily with the issues of unemployment and the cost of living thought that the Democratic Party was better able to handle these problems and would have voted for Stevenson had he been running against Eisenhower for the Presidency this fall. The people most worried about our foreign relations, tension in the Far East, government corruption, and communism in this country leaned toward the Republican Party. Had they been making a choice this fall between Eisenhower and Stevenson, they would have voted for Eisenhower two to one.

The current study of Pittsfield's voters revealed that one out of four 1952 Eisenhower voters either would have definitely voted for Stevenson or had moved to a point of indecision. Nine out of ten of the Stevenson partisans of two years ago, however, were still loyal to him. The noticeable drop in Eisenhower's political popularity since 1952, coupled with the continuing strength of most of New England's Republican candidates this year, tempers the often-voiced observation that Eisenhower was the key to a Republican victory in the 1954 elections.

Who were the Eisenhower renegades? What were they thinking? Slightly more than 50 per cent of the former Eisenhower supporters came from the ranks of labor, half of them falling within the category of skilled labor. Seven out of ten people in this group identified themselves as "independents" politically, more than half were members of the Roman Catholic church, and about 50 per cent fell into a high-middle-income bracket.

As the following table shows, the decisive issues for those persons who no longer supported President Eisenhower were notably different from those for the people who were still faithful. The former tended to stress essentially economic issues, while the latter showed greater concern over the problems that in Pittsfield were held to be the main issues of the 1952 Republican campaign—the Far Eastern conflict, government corruption and spending, and the threat of another major war. Those who had deserted Eisenhower and those still loyal to him differed mainly in the emphasis they placed on the cost of living and on this country's Far Eastern problems. The percentages in the table indicate the extent to which the voters in each group considered as "decisive" the issues listed in the first column.

| | *Voted for Eisenhower in 1952 but would not vote for him in 1954* | *Voted for Eisenhower in 1952 and would vote for him again in 1954* |
|---|---|---|
| | *Per cent* | *Per cent* |
| The cost of living | 69 | 51 |
| Taxation | 37 | 32 |
| Wages | 25 | 20 |
| Corruption in government | 43 | 47 |
| Threat of a third world war | 75 | 79 |
| Far Eastern tension | 38 | 58 |

Despite Senator McCarthy's boast that he would play an important role in this year's Congressional elections, he was not an issue integrally related to the voting decisions of the people of Pittsfield. Less than 5 per cent of the cross-section questioned said that the McCarthy issue was germane to the elections.

Does this mean that the voters were lukewarm about McCarthy? Would they have liked to have McCarthy on their party ticket as candidate for Senator from Massachusetts? Throughout the cross-section there was strong anti-Mc-



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Carthy sentiment; 70 per cent would not want him as their Senatorial candidate. The reasons cited ranged from a blanket condemnation to specific criticism of his methods, his treatment of witnesses before his committee, and his personal ambition. See table below.

*Reasons Cited for Anti-McCarthy Sentiments*

| | *Per Cent* |
|---|---|
| His methods | 28 |
| Blanket condemnation | 19 |
| Quarrelsome, a trouble-maker | 17 |
| His personality traits | 12 |
| Egotistical, out for himself | 6 |
| Unfair to other people | 6 |
| Miscellaneous | 12 |

Regarding McCarthy's methods, the persons interviewed in Pittsfield were asked to answer the following question: "Some people feel that McCarthy's methods are a lot like those used by Hitler or Stalin. Do you strongly agree, agree somewhat, or strongly disagree?" Slightly more than half of the people interviewed selected one or the other of the first two alternatives, splitting almost evenly between them. Three out of ten strongly disagreed; the others expressed an inability to answer the question.

The people in this area connected the McCarthy issue with the political campaign in only one way. Nearly 70 per cent of those interviewed felt that he might be hurting the Republican Party this fall. The fact that so few people ranked McCarthy among the top eight 1954 issues would suggest that their voting decisions hinged very little on their personal feelings about him.

The political crosswinds revealed by this 1952-54 study of a typical urban community, like the election results in New England, are clear signs that many of the normally Democratic voters who strayed from the fold in 1952 have returned. Uppermost in their minds were the economic issues. Thus the Republican candidates in this section of the country, while in general able to weather the decline in Eisenhower's political popularity, had to make a strong effort to combat the Democrats' bid for a return to power.

# SINO-INDIAN ACCORD

## A Step Toward Asian Peace . . *by K. M. Pannikar*

*New Delhi*

IT IS owing to the similarity of the historical processes by which they achieved their independence that India and China, in spite of the difference in ideology, have in many ways a common approach to Asian problems. Freedom from foreign control, the unification of the country, the establishment of a single, unchallenged authority over the entire territory of the state—these were the political objectives of both revolutions. Equally the basic problems they face are similar: to raise the living standards of the peasantry, to create a stable and diversified economic structure lifting them up from the "colonial economies" of the past, and to industrialize rapidly —in short, to create a new and modern society in place of the ineffective and outmoded social systems which they had inherited. While India chose the liberal democratic way, as a result of historical circumstances, China preferred the Communist system; but this difference in ideology does not change the basic fact that both represent the spirit of Asian resurgence. Their resentment of the great powers' reluctance to allow Asian problems to be settled by Asians, their resistance to Western attempts to build up spheres of influence in Asia stem from this common background.

India and the People's Republic of China stepped on to the international stage practically at the same time. Few people then realized the significance of the emergence in the comity of nations of these two giant peoples having between them a population of a thousand million. The inherited sense of superiority cherished by Europe and America prevented them from recognizing an important shift that had taken place in international life. But it was grasped immediately in both New Delhi and Peking. The problem that faced the leaders in both countries was whether it would be possible for them to work out a basis of cooperation for mutual benefit. India had deliberately elected to remain a member of the Commonwealth. China had as deliberately chosen, in Chairman Mao's words, "to lean to the Communist side" and had negotiated a treaty of friendship and alliance with the Soviet Union. Was peaceful coexistence based on friendly cooperation between two such states possible? From the beginning of India's relations with the Peking government, both countries accepted the principle of cooperation in the interests of peace, and it has now become their official policy.

It was no doubt a great advantage that they had had no conflicts or rivalries in the past to mar their political relations.

*(Continued on page 444)*

*Prime Minister Nehru*

*K. M. PANNIKAR, India's ambassador to China, 1948-53, is the author of the just published "Asia and Western Dominance."*



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# ANY 3 of these great books

**VALUE UP TO $20.00**

### FEAR, THE ACCUSER

**By DAN GILLMOR**

An intensive and sobering study of "guilt by association" as it operates today in the United States. Giving facts and documentation, it examines the machinations of the organized accusers who threaten to make a mockery of justice in our land. As Arthur Garfield Hayes states: "We owe a debt of gratitude for a book which not only is interesting but gives us the source material to show up the inanities of the accusers."

Retail price, $3.00

### LINCOLN THE PRESIDENT: MIDSTREAM

**By J. G. RANDALL**

A scholarly yet tender and moving biographical account of Lincoln in his most critical year (1863), when he loomed as a key figure in our nation's crucial test and stood forth as the spokesman for democracy throughout the world. "A beautiful, companionable book," writes Carl Sandburg. Retail price, $7.50

### GLORY ROAD

***The Bloody Route from Fredericksburg to Gettysburg***

**By BRUCE CATTON**

Bringing exciting history to vivid life, here is a veritable cinematic account of one desperate phase in a desperate war—the bloody, muddy, torturous route plodded by the Army of the Potomac to victory. The surging excitement of combat in these pages gives substance and significance to the historical details of this epic period in America's history. "...recreates for us the sights and sounds, feelings and passions of the battlefield . . . rejects all mock heroics...a splendid achievement, historical and literary."—Henry Steele Commager.
With Bibliography, Notes, Maps and Index. Retail price, $4.50

### LOOKING FORWARD

***An Anthology of Science-Fiction***

**Edited by MILTON LESSER**

A collection of twenty truly unusual science-fiction tales by such masters as Poul Anderson, Ray Bradbury, Isaac Asimov, and others. An exciting book that will be welcomed by the devotee of the best in science-fiction writing and the general reader seeking "a new dimension of fictional escape." Retail price, $4.95

### THE TRAITOR AND THE SPY

**By JAMES THOMAS FLEXNER**

This is not just a biography of Benedict Arnold. It is that rare book which, with skill and acumen, gathers up the scattered threads of three lives and weaves them into a dramatic narrative that presents, against the historical background of the times, life-size portraits of three notorious conspirators—Benedict Arnold, Peggy Shippen, and Major John André—who were involved in a dastardly attempt to betray a young nation in crisis.

Retail price, $5.75

### THE PHILOSOPHY OF MODERN ART

**by HERBERT READ**

It is the author's intention in this collection of essays to make the reader conscious of the broad effects of a century of art—of the relationships of pure art to other arts, and the stream of significant developments in modern art. All the "isms" and modern schools of thought are fully discussed and explained for the lay reader. Read's book is a work of insight and brilliance, unique in the field of art appreciation. 16 plates in monochrome. Retail price, $4.50

### THE CHALLENGE OF MAN'S FUTURE

**By HARRISON BROWN**

One of America's foremost geo-chemists produced this sobering analysis of the hazards that face mankind in the years ahead. Neither an alarmist nor a buoyant optimist, Brown examines the trends and facts from a scientist's unbiased viewpoint and comes up with challenging thought-provoking conclusions. "This objective work has high value," wrote Albert Einstein.

Retail price, $3.95

### HITLER'S SECRET CONVERSATIONS

**Edited by H. R. TREVOR-ROPER**

How nearly Adolf Hitler succeeded in his dream of conquest is known to all. But we have not known until now what Hitler in his most private thoughts really believed about himself. These innermost beliefs are at last revealed in this volume which records the private discussions of the man who almost remade the world. An amazing book that lays bare the diseased mind of a would-be conqueror who met a mean and unheroic death. Retail price, $6.50

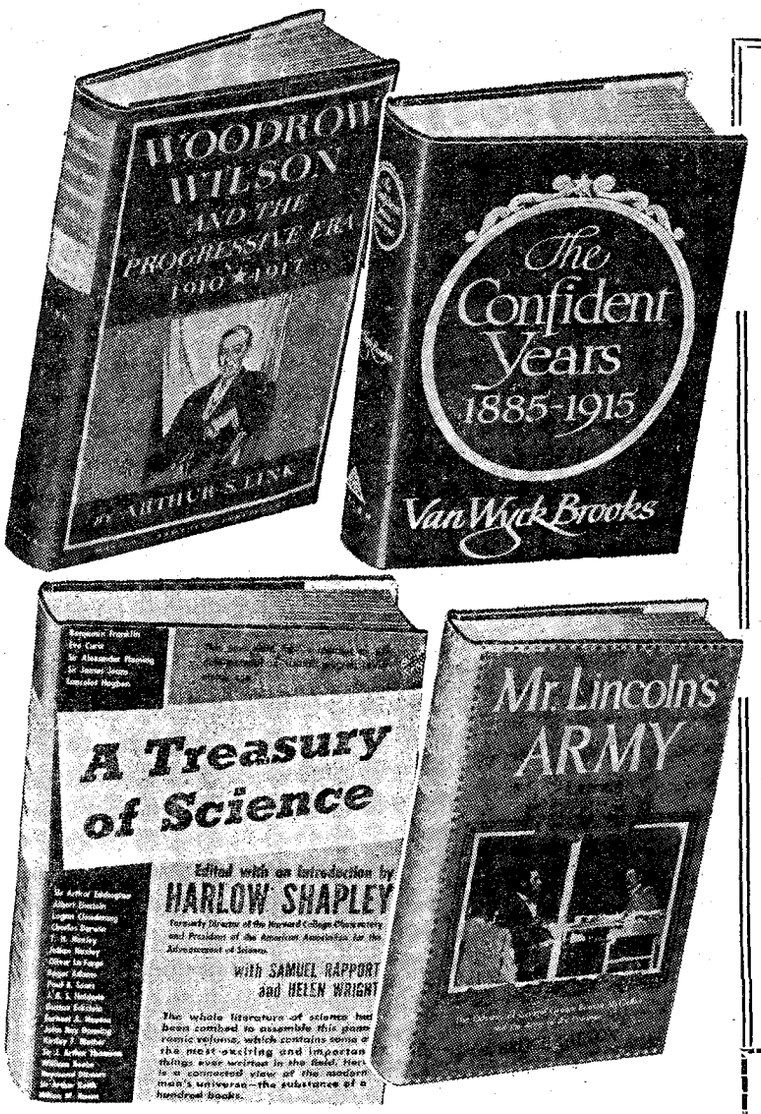
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# for only $3.95

**as a dramatic demonstration of the distinguished books you can obtain at great savings by now joining**

# THE *Nation's* CHOICE

**(Sponsored by *The Nation*)**




## PRIVILEGES YOU ENJOY AS A MEMBER

The Nation's Choice book selections are made each month by the editorial staff of The Nation. They are, of course, books of the type that should appeal strongly to readers of The Nation.

As a member you will be privileged to receive each month's selection at the special members' reduced price, representing savings of as much as 40% and in some cases even more. But you will NOT be obligated to take the current selection every month. In fact, you may accept as few as four books a year and still retain all the benefits of membership. For each four additional books you accept, you will receive a valuable Bonus Book FREE.

You will receive FREE each month the Club's bulletin, *The Nation's Choice*, which describes the coming month's selection and other books in the same category. If you do not wish to receive the next month's selection, you simply return a form which is always provided. You take only the books you want, pay only the special members' reduced price, plus a small fixed mailing charge, *after* receiving them. You enroll for no fixed term; may cancel your membership at any time after accepting as few as four selections.

By joining *now*, you receive any THREE of the fine books shown on this page at the special introductory rate of only $3.95. TWO of these books will be yours FREE, as a membership gift. The third will be considered your first selection, for which you will be billed only $3.95 plus a nominal charge for postage and packing. The coupon below makes you a member. You need send no money. Clip and mail it *today*. The Nation's Choice, 11 East 36th St., Dept. 3006, New York 16, N. Y.

### WOODROW WILSON AND THE PROGRESSIVE ERA

**By ARTHUR S. LINK**

An engrossing study of Wilson's first administration and of America's entry into World War I. As a history of our country between 1910 and 1917, this is a stimulating work that explains how the United States took its place as a leading power in the struggle for democracy.

Retail price, $5.00

### A TREASURY OF SCIENCE

**Edited by HARLOW SHAPLEY with S. Rapport and H. Wright**

The most extensive anthology on the subject, this new revised edition of an outstanding work that contains the substance of a hundred books brings us an over-all picture of modern science as seen through the eyes of the world's foremost scientific writers.

Retail price, $5.95

### THE CONFIDENT YEARS 1885–1915

**By VAN WYCK BROOKS**

A splendid and colorful picture of the American literary scene during the 30-year period preceding our own times. In this sixth volume of his notable series on American writers and their work, Van Wyck Brooks has again made a major contribution to American letters. *The Confident Years* is a true work of art—vigorous, balanced, erudite and eminently readable.

Retail price, $6.00

### MR. LINCOLN'S ARMY

**By BRUCE CATTON**

The most important aspect of a war —which histories frequently overlook —is the saga of the men who fight it. In this living story, gathered from diaries, letters and published reports, is portrayed the Odyssey of dashing General McClellan and the famed Army of the Potomac.

"... history as it should be written for Americans of today ... within a structure of sound analysis of the causes and meaning of events."—Alvin F. Harlow.

With Bibliography, Notes, Maps and Index.

Retail price, $4.00

**The NATION'S CHOICE, INC. • Dept. 3006**
**11 East 36th Street • New York 16, N. Y.**

Please enroll me as a member and send me the THREE books I have checked below. TWO of these are to be mine FREE, as a membership GIFT. The *third* is to be my first selection, for which you may bill me $3.95 plus a nominal charge for postage and handling. I am to receive the Club's bulletin, *The Nation's Choice*, FREE each month. For each four additional books I accept, I am to receive a valuable Bonus Book FREE. My only obligation as a member is to accept as few as four selections the first year, paying only the special members' reduced price, plus 30¢ for mailing.

- ☐ FEAR, THE ACCUSER
- ☐ LINCOLN THE PRESIDENT: MIDSTREAM
- ☐ GLORY ROAD
- ☐ LOOKING FORWARD
- ☐ THE TRAITOR AND THE SPY
- ☐ THE PHILOSOPHY OF MODERN ART
- ☐ THE CHALLENGE OF MAN'S FUTURE
- ☐ HITLER'S SECRET CONVERSATIONS
- ☐ WOODROW WILSON AND THE PROGRESSIVE ERA
- ☐ A TREASURY OF SCIENCE
- ☐ THE CONFIDENT YEARS
- ☐ MR. LINCOLN'S ARMY

*Name*_____

*Address*_____

*City*_____ *Zone*_____ *State*_____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

(Continued from page 441)

China's claim to sovereignty over Tibet had been accepted by all the powers, including America, when the Chinese government was under the Kuomintang. Indian interests in Tibet were commercial and cultural, and such survivals of British expansionist policies as the maintenance of military escorts and telegraph offices in foreign territory were contrary to Indian ideas.

From the very beginning the Chinese government had made it clear that while it could not compromise on the question of authority over Tibet it would be happy to negotiate a settlement which safeguarded all legitimate Indian interests. Those negotiations were satisfactorily concluded in April of this year, eliminating thereby the only political issue between the two countries. The now well-known Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence were first included in the preamble of that agreement.

These "five principles" have since been reaffirmed in a joint communiqué of the two Prime Ministers in New Delhi and subsequently in public utterances in Rangoon and Peking. They are: mutual respect of each other's sovereignty, non-aggression, non-interference in each other's affairs, cooperation for mutual profit, and peaceful coexistence.*

The criticism most often heard about this policy of coexistence is that it is a snare invented by the Communists to lull the free world into a sense of security. In support of this view critics quote Lenin's famous statement that mighty conflicts between Communist and capitalist systems are inevitable and further buttress it with references to world revolution and so on. Whatever Lenin may have said, in a pre-atomic age, about inevitable conflicts, leaders of communism today cannot but realize that such conflicts could only have one result—the destruction of all civilization, Communist and non-Communist. Coexistence has therefore become as much a necessity for the Communists as for the capitalists.

AN understanding between India and China is the best assurance for peace in Asia. Why, then, is there so much suspicion and dislike of such a development in American political circles? That India will not be a party to any military alliance is known to all; that Sino-Indian friendship is not directed against anyone has also been made amply clear. In the circumstances Asian public opinion rightly or wrongly interprets America's opposition to this policy as emanating from an apprehension that cooperation between India and China would strengthen Asian feeling both against America's policy of building up an Asian bloc and against its determination to isolate the People's Republic.

There is no doubt that India is firmly opposed to both these policies. The wisdom of persisting in a course of not recognizing China and opposing its full participation in international life is denied by India and by the other major Asian countries. Most Asian countries equally resent the attempts of Western powers to establish what they consider to be spheres of influence in Asia—a new version of the protectorate system of the pre-war period. The object of Sino-Indian cooperation is to enlarge the area of peace in Asia and, if possible, to keep the new countries in Southeast Asia from being caught up in the rivalries of the cold war. By their recent exchange of visits the Prime Ministers of India and China have made it amply clear that they will both work to achieve this object, which the people of the two countries consider the essential prerequisite for the early realization of their social and economic development.

*The joint communiqué was issued in June when China's Prime Minister, Chou En-lai, returning from the Geneva conference, stopped at New Delhi to see Prime Minister Nehru. Chou En-lai reaffirmed the "five principles" a few days later in Rangoon. Last month Nehru on a visit to China saw Chou En-lai in Peking and told the press: "I am convinced that the only thing the people of China want is peace. When Chou En-lai came to India recently, we issued a statement governing our relations. If that principle were followed generally, many of the world's problems would fade away."—EDITORS THE NATION.

# DEFENSE PROBLEM: 1960

## A Short Story . . . *by Ralph Winnett*

*Washington, June 1, 1960*

LAST week Dr. Herman Oberdorfer, editor of the *American Nuclear Bulletin,* became the hundredth inmate of the closely guarded Leavenworth Penitentiary Annex for Atomic Scientists. His testimony before the Senate internal-security subcommittee left no doubt that he was guilty of conspiring to publish an article on nuclear physics. Since the contents of the attempted article remain classified, the present writer must limit himself to a review of events preceding the Oberdorfer conspiracy.

*March, 1957*—The President at a news conference hinted at the existence of a new weapon in the now-obsolete "H" series. "H," the President suggested, might no longer stand for Hydrogen but for Hemisphere.

*April, 1957*—A question from a United Press correspondent brought the first Presidential admission that the Eastern Hemisphere probably could not be blown up without the simultaneous destruction of the Western Hemisphere. "Latest developments in atomic warfare," the President said, authorizing direct quotation, "create new aspects in the over-all problem of defense."

*June, 1957*—The chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, in a TV interview, disclosed the basic theory of

*RALPH WINNETT is a free-lance writer on military subjects.*



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the new weapon. "It is now possible," the chairman said, "to achieve fusion of ordinary hydrogen atoms. Since ordinary hydrogen exists in large quantities in the ocean as well as in wood and other common substances, a single bomb would be capable of taking out a hemisphere, more or less."

Pressed by reporters for a more specific statement on the number of Hemispheres, the chairman said, "When you have a new thing like this you can't predict its effect to a decimal point. There's always a margin of error. But I want to emphasize that within mathematical limits we know exactly what it would do. At no point would it get out of control."

*July, 1957*—Premier Malenkov told the All-Union Congress of Soviets that the United States no longer had a monopoly of Hemisphere bombs.

*August, 1957*—The chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission announced that the American stockpile of Hemisphere bombs gave the United States a two-year lead over the Soviet Union. Simultaneously, *Pravda* hinted that Russia had developed a new weapon, described only as "the answer to the Hemisphere bomb."

*September, 1957*—The President in an informal television address sought to calm what he called a "nation-wide case of hemispheric jitters." Speaking extemporaneously from a rocking-chair in his childhood home, the President said: "There's one thing lots of folks seem to forget. Certainly the bomb is a terrible thing. Any bomb is terrible if you happen to be around when it goes off. But that's exactly what you've got a government for, a defense establishment, to protect the nation from this danger. There's no danger from the Hemisphere bomb unless it explodes."

*February, 1958*—Western scientists were astonished by the first original Soviet contribution to nuclear physics, the People's bomb. It had an estimated destructive radius of eight billion miles, roughly equal to the diameter of the solar system.

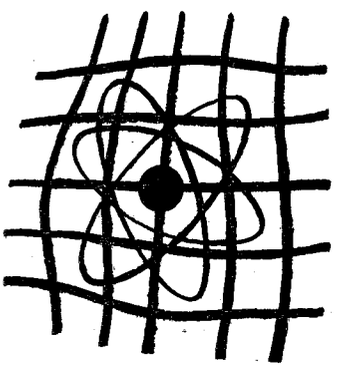
*March, 1958*—The chairman of the Joint Congressional Atomic Energy Committee announced the successful operation of a pilot plant for Project Daisy.

*April, 1958*—The Presidential press secretary told reporters that the Chief Executive would answer questions about Project Daisy at the next White House news conference.

*April, 1959*—"It is now possible," the President told reporters, "to think not in terms of planets but of megaplanets."

Asked why the project was called "Daisy," the President referred to a book he had once read which described the Milky Way galaxy as "God's daisy chain." "It would be that kind of a chain reaction," the President said significantly.

*May, 1959*—A May Day article in *Pravda* caused mounting Congressional concern over Russia's possible power of counter-retaliation. "The American President," *Pravda* said, "once thought he could make the people's democracies tremble at his word that H no longer stood for Hydrogen. As is well known, the people's democracies did not tremble, but on the contrary caught up with and outstripped the scientific lackeys of Wall Street. However, not even the grandiose achievement of the People's bomb could curb the American ruling circles' lust for profits, for grabbing new markets, and for preparing a new war. Instead of answering on the basis of outlawing weapons of mass destruction, of securing the unity of peace-loving peoples, the Americans answered with the so-called Daisy bomb. Consequently Soviet science is now in a position to revise the American President's warmongering threat; in the mighty language of the people's democracy, U no longer stands for Uranium. U stands for Universe."



*June, 1959*—The chairman of the Joint Congressional Atomic Energy Committee told reporters that American physicists had known for some time of the possibility of a U, or Universe, bomb. "Its operation is similar to that of the Daisy bomb," the chairman said, "except that in this case the Daisy bomb is used as a booster or primer."

Asked whether the Soviet bomb could destroy the universe, the chairman replied: "Yes, but I want to emphasize that there's no new principle involved. We could have had the bomb eighteen months ago. We decided to go slow so as to keep the national economy on an even keel for the long pull. A sound economy and a balanced budget are basic to our philosophy of national defense. As a matter of fact, we've got something better than the U-bomb."

The chairman declined to enlarge on his last remark.

*July, 1959*—Excerpt from transcript of White House press conference:

*Nathaniel Brown of the Concord* Daily Harmony: Mr. President, the chairman of the Joint Congressional Atomic Energy Committee said yesterday that this country has something better than the U-bomb. Would you care to comment on that, sir?"

*A.* Well, he hadn't read the statement, and he wouldn't want to comment on any statement or comment by the legislative branch without reading them.

*Q.* I hope you won't consider this line of questioning too persistent, Mr. President, but would you be willing to draw any comparison between our present atomic potential and the Soviet U-bomb?

*A.* He hadn't been briefed on the subject, there were several aspects that came up in the past few days, but he thought he could say that we were well on the way with regard to something that would make the U-bomb obsolete.

*Q.* A bigger bomb, sir?

*A.* He would say so, yes.

*September, 1959*—Dr. Frederick White, a retired former employee of the Manhattan Project, expressed doubt concerning the practical military value of a bomb larger than one capable of destroying the universe, and became the first inmate of Leavenworth Annex. During Dr. White's trial it was brought out that his expression of doubt was not a punishable offense, but that he had failed to clear certain additional statements with the Atomic Energy Commission. The statements in question were not specified owing to security regulations.

*April, 1960*—Conviction of Atomic Scientist No. 100, Dr. Oberdorfer, under the new security program.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# BOOKS

## The Massive Tree of Freedom

*AN ALMANAC OF LIBERTY.* By William O. Douglas. Doubleday and Company. $5.50.

### By Walter Millis

JUSTICE DOUGLAS has hit upon an odd, rather homely, yet amazingly moving device for recalling us from the hysterias into which we seem at present to be sinking. Whether or not our civil liberties are in peril may be open to argument; but it can hardly be denied that there has been a deep, progressive erosion of the concepts which underlie them—the concepts of due process, the presumption of innocence, the protections against self-incrimination, the right of privacy, the right to a jury trial, to confrontation by one's accusers, to the writ of habeas corpus, to protection against discriminations, loyalty oaths, bills of attainder, censorships, and all the other immemorial engines of oppression and "control" from which our liberal-democratic society has in the past struggled to be free.

The rights won in those struggles remain upon the books; for the most part they have been modified, if at all, only by subtle construction (as in the case of the First Amendment, where the injunction that Congress shall make "no law" abridging the freedom of speech and the press has been construed, the author suggests, as meaning that it shall make only "some laws" of that character), and these rights are still available as weapons of power in such crises, say, as that over segregation in the schools. But in many other contexts, especially in the war against communism, the substance seems to have been draining out of them. As long as a government servant is being tried not for crime but only for defects of personality, often minor, people are likely to forget that the concepts of confrontation, cross-examination, fair trial, and so on have meaning.

Justice Douglas's "Almanac" restores meaning to them. It provides a pithy reminder of some aspect of their great history for each day of the year. It has 366 text pages, including one for February 29, each carrying a brief essay or homily or sometimes only a two-paragraph historical note upon one or another of the noble issues in which civil rights have been fought for or won, in which the slow advance toward decency, tolerance, and economic as well as political liberty has been furthered.

The first entry is for July 4, and it describes the adoption of the Declaration of Independence; near the very end one arrives, in the entry for June 15, at the Magna Charta, and the book closes, with the entry for July 3, on Rabindranath Tagore's prayer for a great society—

> Where knowledge is free;
> Where the world has not been broken up into fragments by narrow domestic walls;
> Where words come out from the depth of truth . . .

Because the entries for the most part refer to an event which took place on the corresponding day, there is at first sight a fine discontinuity about them, as there should be in all good almanacs. Thus, the entry for October 17 is on the attempt of the British authorities in 1775 to remove cases to England for jury trial; the October 18 entry is on the attempt in the Clayton Act (1914) to restrain abuses of the injunctive process. The first effect of this arrangement is like that experienced by a man eating peanuts; he tends to gobble them up, one after another, not knowing quite why, but unable to stop and, perhaps, unaware of the amount of mental calories he is absorbing in the process.

A second effect comes with the realization that there is art as well as chronology involved. The entry for November 17 is on Raleigh, convicted of treason on that day in 1603, after having called in vain to have his accuser brought "before his face" and having been told that "many horse-stealers may escape" if they cannot be convicted without witnesses. The entry for November 18 is on the Dorothy Bailey case, in which in 1948 the Supreme Court upheld her dismissal from government employment as a "security risk" on evidence which was "secret information . . . given by people who were not under oath and whose identity was unknown" both to Miss Bailey and to her judges on the loyalty board. Unlike Raleigh, Miss Bailey was not beheaded. She was still, like him, "condemned for public employment by faceless and unknown accusers whose testimony was not under oath and who were not presented for cross-examination."

Again and again these implied lessons are driven home. One reads that on October 27, 1553, Servetus was burned at the stake because he had ideas dangerous to Calvin's concepts of what was necessary to social stability; his problem, the author adds, was similar to that of today. "Those who speak out against the neurosis that has seized us in the mid-twentieth century risk much. But if they stay silent they are unworthy of their inheritance. . . . If a few sick minds can transfer their psychosis to the whole community, anyone can readily become a victim of the calumny and lies which the modern hunt for heresy has produced."

THOUGH there is much, both directly and by implication, in this book about the "modern hunt for heresy," there is much more as well. Justice Douglas's humane and wide-ranging mind touches on many other aspects of the great and agonizing libertarian struggle for advance—in the enlargement of the franchise, in union organization, in improvement of laws for the care of children, of the insane, and of paupers, in the ending of slavery, in the battle with monopoly, even in the halting efforts toward more rational world organization. After absorbing enough of the peanuts, one realizes that, discontinuous as they are, they all come from the same massive tree of freedom.

One realizes that all these problems are ancient, that none is too clear, but that all are bound together in a valence which we may disrupt only at peril to our society. What happened to Raleigh

---

*WALTER MILLIS is the author of "The Martial Spirit," "Why Europe Fights," and other books and editor of "The Forrestal Diaries." He is now on the staff of the Fund for the Republic.*



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in 1603 is not only connected with what was declared at Philadelphia in 1776 but also with what was done to Dorothy Bailey in 1948. This book, like any good almanac, ought to be propped up by the shaving glass and read one page a day. The only trouble with that is that it is habit-forming, and it is hard not to read it right through to the end at the first encounter.

# Id Over Superego

*IN THE NAME OF SANITY.* By Lewis Mumford. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $3.75.

## By Robert Smith

I AM ashamed of not liking this book. Mr. Mumford is an erudite man, a talented writer, and a courageous thinker, one of the few who still dare say out loud that we must find a way of living at peace with the Communist world. All the same, deeply as I admire him, I still fell sound asleep over his book, which is but a collection of papers given on various occasions over the last seven years.

Mr. Mumford's aim in this book, he says, is to suggest an attitude and a philosophy capable of meeting the problems of our times, problems which he appraises with frankness and understanding. But the attitude he suggests is not one suited to the plain people of the land, because they will never share it; and the philosophy he outlines is one they will never grasp. Perhaps he means to address himself entirely to artists and intellectuals, and very probably I cannot count myself either. But I have never been able to separate artists and intellectuals from people.

As a matter of fact I believe that the unconscious postulating of such a division is the main trouble with Mr. Mumford's reasoning. At several points in the book he says or implies that "we" have become automatons, thanks to the strictures of "pure" science and the machine and to the overthrowing of the "superego." In one of the most interesting papers, or chapters, he declares that "we" are suffering from Calibanism, which he defines, indirectly, as the triumph of the id, or animal self, over the superego, or censor. Now when Mr. Mumford says "we" I know he does not mean himself, and I am sure he does not mean me. (My own id has fought a losing battle for years.) I have never met any automatons, and except for sundry obvious candidates for the couch, I have not known any creatures in which the id was in the ascendant.

I am always leery of this reasoning that tends to categorize all human beings outside the immediate family circle or that attempts to "analyze" whole nations as if they were individuals. Nor do I believe that there is any evidence whatever of the truth of one of Mr. Mumford's basic premises—that in the last generation people have grown calloused to human suffering and wholesale slaughter.

The slaughter of human beings has been one of the chief occupations of the race for centuries. Of late years it has been done wholesale rather than piecemeal, and abruptly, rather than gradually through starvation and disease. The abrupt blossoming of the world's brutalities in the gas ovens and slave camps of the dictatorships has been a sign of the awakening of individual consciences. People are not so callous as they were when large parts of the human race were accepted, by all thinking people, as animals; when hanging was the proper reward for theft; and torture, the wages of dissent. Now people must have physical tortures and slaughter put out of their sight and swiftly done with. In the present age slaughter itself has been presented as humanitarian—a sacrifice of some lives, as at Hiroshima, to save millions of others. We—and in this "we" I include both Mr. Mumford and myself—have been able to accept it, not as an immutable aspect of a way of life, but as a gruesome necessity on the road to a better world, which, being visited upon certain lesser peoples who "hold life cheaply," is at least less distressing than the singeing of our own dear selves.

Mr. Mumford recalls that, when he

---

*ROBERT SMITH is the author of several novels—"Hotel on the Lake," "The Human Image," and "One Winter in Boston." His weekly column in the Pittsfield (Massachusetts)* Berkshire Evening Eagle *is one of the most thoughtful columns in the American press today.*


**"Hard-hitting" report on Communism in Guatemala**

"Here is the first book on the overthrow of Jacobo Arbenz Guzman by Carlos Castillo Armas. Daniel James, former managing editor of *The New Leader*, has done more than merely achieve the earliest publication date. He is, in effect, the biographer of the ten-year story of Communist intrigue... hard-hitting but never hysterical."—MILTON BRACKER, *N. Y. Times Book Review.*

**Red Design FOR THE Americas:**

**Guatemalan Prelude**

**By DANIEL JAMES**

$4.50 *at all bookstores*

**THE JOHN DAY COMPANY**

Sales Office: 210 Madison Ave.
New York 16, New York

**WANTED...**

**Articles on Minority Problems**

THE CHICAGO JEWISH FORUM, a national quarterly in English, now in its 11th year of publication, invites non-fiction articles on minority problems only—in the United States and elsewhere. Length of manuscripts wanted from 2,500 to 6,000 words. Payment, on acceptance, one cent a word. Editorial decision within thirty days.

The following is a partial list of titles of articles, many by well-known scholars and experts in their respective fields, which already have appeared in THE CHICAGO JEWISH FORUM:

The Racist Factor in American History... Problems of Modern Immigration... The Negro in the United States... The American Slavs... Occupational Patterns of American Jewry... The Navaho Tragedy... The Anti-Semitism of Richard Wagner... Southwestern Shame... The Jewish Intellectual in Paris... Racial Discrimination in Employment... and others.

THE CHICAGO JEWISH FORUM
82 West Washington Street
Chicago 2, Illinois




LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

was young, people reacted with "incredulous horror" to the sinking of the Lusitania. I was young then too, and I remember that the horror was especially strong because there were *Americans* on the ship. And I recall loud expressions of indignation from men and women who were still able to attend the Barnum and Bailey circus that summer and laugh out loud to see men for sport throw hard baseballs at a colored man's head.

Mr. Mumford also ascribes to certain artists and writers the ability to "foresee" the Nazi horrors of the thirties and forties. But what needed to be foreseen, if one was merely aware that colored people were commonly vivisected in our Southland and Jews viciously hazed in some of our schools? Could it not be that the artists were the first of the intellectuals to begin to perceive what the plain people had long lived with?

My own observations, which I believe have been on a lower level than Mr. Mumford's, have been that people today are less inclined to violence, find it more difficult to escape personal responsibility for the horrors that have long flowered among them, do not relish the dropping of the Hell-bombs, chiefly voted for Eisenhower because he promised peace, and are fumbling their way toward an end of exploitation and slaughter. And that they are not yielding to the gibbering barbarian deep within themselves.

I do agree with Mr. Mumford that the world is at last learning the simple, yet difficult lessons laid before us in the New Testament. But I think of the world as a great many individuals who are, unhappily, very much like myself. As to this id and superego stuff, I simply do not dig it. Smells suspiciously like nonsense to me.

# Books in Brief

## Culture En Masse

*IS THE COMMON MAN TOO COMMON?* By Joseph Wood Krutch and Others. Oklahoma. $2.75.

In the opening essay of this symposium Joseph Wood Krutch sets the problem and alerts us to the dangers in our new Age of the Common Man. He and the eleven other participants in the discussion, including well-known educators, a motion-picture executive, and a statesman, examine the results to our culture of universal schooling and mass media which have quantitative rather than qualitative standards. Can we have an age of the common man without also having an age of the common denominator? Are we making the common or average man our goal instead of insisting only that the common man may be given every cultural opportunity to become an uncommon man?

The consensus of opinion in these brilliant essays appears to be that it is the responsibility of our thinkers and educators to combat a growing complacency which measures our degree of culture by the increasing number of Americans who go to college, read books, and listen to the radio. They must persist in emphasizing training in the liberal arts to awaken and develop intellectual and spiritual possibilities in the individual.

The English social historian, D. W. Brogan, strikes a depressing note by intimating that even if the schools and mass media could be prodded into providing the best, rather than the mediocre, the common taste may be incapable of development beyond a certain, rather low, point.

## Philosopher as Commentator

*EUROPEAN UNION AND UNITED STATES FOREIGN POLICY.* By F. S. C. Northrup. Macmillan. $4.75.

Everyone seriously concerned with the fate of contemporary mankind is indebted to Yale's Sterling Professor of Philosophy and Law for his brilliant earlier works, "The Meeting of East and West" (1946) and "The Taming of the Nations" (1952). But when a philosopher of cosmic perspectives essays an analysis of current politics, sans cosmic perspectives, the result is often unfortunate, as Plato once discovered. Dr. Northrup, inspired by the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, spent the last four months of 1952 in Western Europe and the Mediterranean. He completed the report of his research last spring as "A Study in Sociological Jurisprudence." His conclusion, embellished with much learned discourse about "positive law" and the "living law' 'of Greater Europe, is that of Secretary Dulles: European federation is desirable, necessary, and inevitable. That the vision faded a few months after the author went to press is his misfortune and a commentary on the political naivete of his analysis. Along with most Americans, he fails to comprehend that West Europeans feel no threat of Soviet aggression and therefore have no incentive to combine against it. There are other good reasons for European Union, some of which Dr. Northrup eloquently expounds. But they are politically insufficient for the task in hand.

## A Great Editor

*BOVARD OF THE POST-DISPATCH.* By James W. Markham. Louisiana State University. $4.

Although rather pedestrian in manner, this book is a valuable addition to the annals of journalism. Little known to the general public—he sedulously avoided all personal publicity—Bovard would figure in any newspaperman's short list of great American editors. A harsh disciplinarian who insisted on scrupulous accuracy and good, terse English, he trained an incomparable group of reporters, including such well-known men as Paul Anderson, Charley Ross, Marquis Childs, and Raymond Brandt.

Professor Markham describes Bovard as "an outstanding general of news campaigns." He was also, although he disliked the term, a born crusader who fervently believed that the exposure of corruption in government and business was among the major duties of a newspaper. But he was not one to go off half-cocked, and his great campaigns—Teapot Dome, the St. Louis and Kansas City registration frauds, the Union Electric Company bribery case, to mention only a few—were preceded by exhaustive investigations.

In the course of his long tenure of the managing editor's chair, Bovard grew increasingly autocratic in relation to the *Post-Dispatch*. He was given to rewriting reporters' copy in a way that sometimes substituted his own judgment for that of the man on the spot. Intellectually arrogant, he seldom admitted a mistake. But if he often exasperated his staff, they recognized his genius and were devoted to him.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# Art

## S. Lane Faison, Jr.,

WITHIN the limits of one hundred paintings the exhibition of Dutch art now on view at the Metropolitan Museum of Art affords the finest concentration of quality in this field ever assembled. Without including a single example from its own collections, which are among its richest, the Metropolitan has taken the cream from the global bottle, selecting the examples carefully to represent the whole course of Dutch painting during the seventeenth century and displaying them beautifully. Major works from the museums of Amsterdam, The Hague, Haarlem, Utrecht, and Rotterdam have been supplemented by spectacular isolated examples like Rembrandt's Man in Armor from Glasgow, the Hals group portrait from the Thyssen Collection in Lugano, and the Hercules Seghers landscape from the Uffizi. Private collections in England have been raided, and American museums and collectors have yielded their best. It should be a matter of pride to discover that not only Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, and our other large museums own paintings that stand up with Amsterdam's, but that small museums like Manchester (N. H.) and Oberlin possess absolutely first-class works of Ruysdael, Hobbema, and Terbruggen.

Terbruggen is not yet a familiar name in other than specialist circles, but it is safe to predict that the large St. Sebastian by this master, a recent acquisition of Oberlin College, will have a public impact not unlike that of the great variant on this theme by the French painter Georges de la Tour in the exhibition of Berlin pictures shown around the United States shortly after the war. Terbruggen and Georges de la Tour descend ultimately from the Roman art of Caravaggio, and with differing national flavor each of them developed what I may call a passionately geometric art. Cubism and Léger seem close by, but bathed in a light as tender as Corot's, or, to put it more accurately, as magical as Vermeer's. I say more accurately, because Terbruggen belonged to the Utrecht school of Caravaggists which seems to have inspired Vermeer's beginnings.

After closing in New York on December 19, this tribute to the genius of a great people will move to Toledo and then to Toronto.

ALL three floors of the Museum of Modern Art are filled with its permanent collection in celebration of its twenty-fifth anniversary. The exhibition is a tribute to the wisdom and discrimination of Alfred Barr and to those who helped him form this collection through the years. All phases of the modern movement are surveyed in finest, or at least fine, examples, and at the same time the relative importance of individuals is clarified through the amount of space allotted to each. The museum has never looked better, nor has its superb sense of how to display ever met a greater challenge. The sequence by mazes, the sense of direction around each interior space, the alternation of light and very dark backgrounds, the discreet framing, the superb lighting, the utter lack of competition between background and work of art—all these elements work in harmony to enthral the eye and stimulate the mind. Some fifty recent acquisitions are indicated by small silver stars on the labels. Among these I was especially impressed by Nolde's Russian Peasants, Soutine's Portrait of Maria Lani, a big Picabia of 1913, a bigger Matta of 1952, a very recent Kenzo Okada, a Werner and a Hans Hartung, a Riopelle and De Kooning's Woman I. The German section needs, in my opinion, a Fritz Winter, and the Latin American areas need strengthening with more forceful examples. It can hardly be doubted that the Picasso group is the finest in the world and that the memory of Henri Matisse has no greater monument than the selection of his paintings which the visitor will find at the very beginning of this magnificent show.

It would be unkind to suggest that the Whitney Museum, in moving from downtown to next door to the Museum of Modern Art, invites comparison with its more affluent neighbor. Such comparison will, unfortunately, be made and not to the Whitney's advantage. On this


# "THE MAN WHO NEVER DIED"

The story of a man who became a myth. Here is a unique combination of history and creative work. In his new book "The Man Who Never Died" Barrie Stavis presents the story of Joe Hill and then, using the documentary materials, fashions a play of unusual dramatic intensity. You will read *both*—in the same book.

On November 19, 1915, Joe Hill was executed by a five-man firing squad in the state of Utah. During the 22 months between his arrest and his execution, his name became known to millions.

His defenders said he was executed not for the murder of a grocer and his son, but because he was Joe Hill, labor's poet. President Wilson intervened *twice* on behalf of Joe Hill; the Swedish Government intervened; the AFL demanded he be given a "new and fair trial."

After his execution, when his body was brought to Chicago, 30,000 people marched in the funeral procession. For some years after his death much was written about his articles, poems and songs. Then a curious silence descended. Though his songs continued to be sung—though his memory was kept alive in the immortal lyrics of Alfred Hayes "I Dreamed I Saw Joe Hill Last Night"—the real man began to fade into myth.

In 1948, Barrie Stavis received a Fellowship from the National Theatre Conference and began his work on Joe Hill. Five years of devoted effort have gone into this work and today it is THE only true and complete story of one of labor's martyrs. The book, in addition to the play, contains many hitherto unpublished documents—letters, reports, unpublished photographs.

The St. Louis Post-Dispatch says: "Stavis' ... research into Joe Hill's life and trial, is almost certainly the most complete job ever done on the subject.... We feel the presence of a real living man and a remarkable one at that."

Haven Press is proud to publish this work. We believe you will find reading it a unique experience. And we urge you to order your copy today.

**HAVEN PRESS** 2N
**545 Fifth Avenue, New York 17**

**Enclosed is $_____ for which send me _____ copies of "The Man Who Never Died" at $3.00 (plus 15 cents for postage and handling).**

**Name**_____

**Address**_____

**City**_____ **Z**___ **State**_____




LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

*A special gift at Christmas . . .*

**THE CHICAGO REVIEW**

*A magazine of*

- **ORIGINAL CREATIVE WRITING**
- **CRITICISM**
- **COMMENTARY**

Contributors 1954:

WILLIAM CARLOS WILLIAMS

CHARLES HARTSHORNE

RICHARD EBERHART

KIMON FRIAR

ELDER OLSON

PETER VIERECK

DAVID RIESMAN

MARIANNE MOORE

AND OTHERS

*Published Quarterly*

With a special Summer 1955 issue devoted to contemporary culture

**Subscriptions: $1.75 per year**

**Single copy: 50 cents**

*Order from*

**THE CHICAGO REVIEW**

**REYNOLDS CLUB**
**THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO**
**CHICAGO 37 • ILLINOIS**

occasion I will refer only to the manner of display and not to the choice of works and artists. The new galleries struck me as garish and as competing disastrously with what they contained. The arrangement of the partition walls needs restudying, for at present one is not sure whether continuous maze or static symmetry—either of which can be effective—was desired. The frames jump out at each other, the large squares of lavender glass pull the eye up as the equally prominent squares of greenish flooring pull the eye down from the pictures, and the lighting lacks a quality of discreetness. I regret having to be so sharp, but I try for honesty even when the outcome is not agreeable.

# Theater

## Harold Clurman

WHEN the eminent American actor, William Gillette (1855-1937), was asked what he proposed to do during the period of his retirement, he answered "Act!" On seeing Alfred Lunt and Lynn Fontanne in "Quadrille" (Coronet Theater) I could not help thinking that they had retired to the stage.

To speak ill of the Lunts—Alfred and Lynn—has in the past ten years become tantamount to engaging in a subversive activity. To say that they are "superb" has become as automatic as it is to rise at the first strains of the national anthem. I shall speak no ill of them. I merely wish to point out that the superb couple have been gradually converting themselves into museum pieces. There is a musty odor about their most recent exhibit.

Alfred Lunt, though essentially a character actor rather than a tragedian, notwithstanding his unmistakable pathos, is the most gifted and accomplished player of the generation which followed that of John Barrymore. He has that mobility of temperament, that capacity of transformation into the image of what he senses or observes, that nervous humor—with its sudden sting of pain—exploding at the thought of almost any vivid experience which are the marks of the creative actor. Through his long service in the theater and through association with his wife, who though studiously artificial is a past master in the mechanics of acting, Lunt has made himself into a player without peer on our stage.

An exchange of dialogue between Lunt and Fontanne is a brilliant exercise in subtle rhythms of speech, alternation of tone colors, graceful movement, and a generally witty counterpoint—duel and embrace—of personality. Some of the more ambitious plays of their early years with the Theater Guild seemed to have thrown them, so that with the passing of time, and our lack of any institution comparable to the Old Vic or the Shakespeare Theater of Stratford, not to mention the paucity of fine new plays, the Lunts have chosen to bemuse their vast public with repeated displays of their virtuosity on the most facile level. Their manner now so greatly supersedes their matter that what we get from them is something like masks without faces. There were instances in "Quadrille" when I imagined the actors had disappeared and by some dread conjuration had been replaced by effigies of themselves. That is what happens when theater, instead of being made from the stuff of life, becomes a substitute for it.

Anyone as prolific as Noel Coward must occasionally turn out sleazy products like "Quadrille." The plot is hackneyed: an English marquis of 1870 runs away to France with a married woman from Boston; then they are pursued by the Marchioness and an American railroad tycoon, who is the eloping woman's husband; finally the latter two fall in love with each other and are seen in the epilogue bound for bliss on Gallic shores. The background is fake, and the writing, except for a few bright quips, is fairly labored. It is not saved when Coward, to give the railroad man a stature sufficient to merit the favors of the elegant Marchioness, attempts a lyric passage on the beauties of the American landscape in the vein of a Thomas Wolfe. It sounds like a travelogue.

What is sad about all this is not the weakness of their vehicle, but that at a time when the Lunts should be giving us



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the most exquisite examples of their craft, they are content to parade their ancient splendor in so sterile an atmosphere.

On the subject of "Fanny," the musical play S. N. Behrman and Joshua Logan (Majestic Theater) have fashioned from the unforgettable "Marius"-"Fanny"-César-trilogy by Marcel Pagnol, I could easily argue two ways. On the one hand, it is not a successful job because whipped cream should not be thrown over a good piece of meat: the story of "Fanny" is not properly accommodated by the conventional allurements of a Broadway musical, even when they are supplied by the most expert confectioners. On the other hand, the basic situation of "Fanny" is so warm and touching, S. N. Behrman's dialogue so much more gratifying than what one commonly hears in musical shows, Ezio Pinza so engaging in voice and quality, Walter Slezak so pleasingly tactful a comedian, and the whole enterprise so distinct a departure from the routine—the final curtain is a death scene in which no one but the two elderly men of the story remain on the stage—that I am inclined to overlook the stylistic anomaly of the entire proceedings.

True, the sets have none of the savor of Marseilles, although there is considerable chic in the handsome drop Jo Mielziner has designed for the birthday-party interlude with its flying green cows, pink pigs, blue birds, and yellow fish—Chagall and Klee in a talented adaptation. It is also true that the erotic marine ballet is in somewhat dubious taste besides being banal in itself, and that only two or three numbers are worthy of the voices that sing them. Still, "Fanny" is the only musical in years that has actually moved me for more than a moment.


**Only $5.95 for this exciting 500,000-word THEATRE HISTORY**

The new and enlarged 1954 edition of John Gassner's "MASTERS OF THE DRAMA" makes the theatre "come alive" for you as no other book has ever done. Here is the excitement of the Elizabethan Age, with its two giants, Marlowe and Shakespeare . . . the Greek Theatre of Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, and Aristophanes . . . the Russian, French, German, Italian, Scandinavian, and American theatres . . . the Chinese drama, the early Passion Plays, the Japanese Noh drama, the Hebrew literary drama. "MASTERS" is so big its indexes alone take up 50 double-column pages . . . so encyclopedic it covers 649 playwrights, from the earliest writer-priests to Christopher Fry and Arthur Miller, including biographical data, plot summaries and criticism.

**NEW picture sections**

You *see* the most famous of these dramatists and visit the stages on which their plays were presented . . . in the three new picture sections of 77 photographs and drawings. You get a critic's-eye view of the whole history of Western Theatre in the valuable 24-page synoptic tables and up-to-date bibliographies. William Kozlenko in the N. Y. *Times* writes: "A vivid chronicle of the theatre . . . an unusual synthesis of esthetics, history, and sociology." *Theatre Arts'* Edith Isaacs says: "Would seem to require space on every well-stocked theatre shelf." Send only $5.95 for a de luxe cloth-bound copy. (order extra copies now for Christmas gifts) to Dover Publications, Dept. 20, 920 Broadway, New York 10, N. Y. Money back if not delighted.

**NEW 1954 ed. of John Gassner's**

**MASTERS OF THE DRAMA**


# Music

## B. H. Haggin

THE former NBC Symphony Orchestra has taken the name Symphony of the Air and organized the Symphony Foundation of America (Room 154, Carnegie Hall), which is asking the public for contributions to an endowment fund that will preserve it as an instrument of this country's musical culture. The goal is ten million dollars, which the foundation points out would be achieved if each of the ten million people who enjoyed the orchestra's broadcasts would express his appreciation with a gift of one dollar. Not that it won't gratefully accept larger contributions; and anyone who gives ten dollars or more will receive a recording which the orchestra made recently without a conductor.

At its recent concert in Carnegie Hall too the orchestra appeared without a conductor, dedicating the concert to Toscanini, and playing "with only the inspirational memory of your guiding hands," supplemented by the nodding heads and signaling arms of the concertmaster and other first-desk string players. They were operating in the way string quartets do; and if there had been only strings their playing would have had not only its ear-ravishing tone but unfailing precision. With woodwinds and brass in addition there were difficulties of gearing and balance; and so the blended sound of the brass in its opening proclamation in the second movement of Dvorak's "New World" Symphony was breath-taking, but the cross-rhythm in the scherzo gave the listener a few uneasy moments. Inevitably there were such unprecise, awkward, and even


**25% DISCOUNT**

**ON ALL BOOKS**

**(10% on Texts and Technical Books)**

**ANY BOOKS YOU CHOOSE**

1) Deduct 25% from list.
2. Add 15¢ per book for postage
3) Send check or money order.

N.Y. C. residents add 3% tax.

**Only obligation, you agree to buy at least 4 books during first year.*

**THRIFTY BOOK CLUB**
206 West 15th Street
Dept. N, N. Y. 11, N. Y.
Phone CHelsea 3-6499

**No Membership Fee**



BASIC PAMPHLETS ON CURRENT ISSUES #2

*BY CORLISS LAMONT*

**THE CIVIL LIBERTIES CRISIS**

**New edition—Just off the press!**

*10¢ per copy*

In this Third Edition, completely revised and up-to-date, Dr. Lamont summarizes under 25 points the present onslaught against Civil Liberties in the United States.

*Order Your Copies Now of This and Other Timely Basic Pamphlets*

**#2—The Civil Liberties Crisis**
(*Single copy* 10¢; 7 *copies* 50¢; 15 *copies* $1.00; 40 *copies* $3.00; 100 *copies* $6.00)

**#5—Back to the Bill of Rights**
**#7—Challenge to McCarthy**
**#8—The Congressional Inquisition**
} *Single copy* 5¢; 12 *copies* 50¢; 30 *copies* $1.00; 100 *copies* $2.75

*Send currency, check or stamps to*

**BASIC PAMPHLETS, Dept. N, Box 42, Cathedral Station, New York 25, N. Y.**




LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

## PUBLICATIONS

**IMPORTED** BOOKS AND PERIODICALS

The famous classic novel by
ALEXEI TOLSTOY

**ORDEAL**
(In English)

This work is well known in this country having been published in previous years under the title of "Road to Calvary."
3 handy size vols. 1207 pages
Price reduced from $3.50 to $2.95

IVAN TURGENEV

**FATHERS AND SONS**
(In English)

De Luxe Edition
Beautiful color illustrations
214 pages. Price $1.75

Both books make excellent gifts for Christmas, New Year's and any other occasion.

New arrival of regular 78 RPM and LP 33 RPM of Soviet Recordings. Wide choice of interesting offerings in Folk and Classical music in Russian and many other languages of the Peoples of the U. S. S. R.

FOUR CONTINENT BOOK CORP.
55 West 56 Street, New York 19, N. Y. — 822 Broadway, New York 3, N. Y.
GRamercy 3-2018--19

A New Collection

**Mr. Dooley: Now & Forever**

Created by FINLEY PETER DUNNE
Selected, with Introduction and Commentary by
LOUIS FILLER
Author:
*Crusaders for American Liberalism*
320 pp. Contemporary Illustrations. $3.75
ORDER NOW AND SAVE $1.10
PRE-PUBLICATION PRICE: $2.65
Until December 1, 1954
**academic reprints**
p. o. box 3003 • stanford, california
*Write for Free Catalog.*

**FREE catalogs** on Social-economic Movements, etc. regularly from: **The Hammersmith Bookshop, Beadon Rd., London, W6, England.**

**ONLY** copy in existence of Reader's Digest printed December 6, 1941. Price $35. 5014 19th N. E., Seattle, Washington.

## LECTURES

**SCOTT NEARING** courses: Tuesday, November 23, 6:30–8:00 P. M. "DARK AGE OR RENAISSANCE?": 8:30–10:00 P. M. "CAN THE WEST RECONQUER ASIA?" Cornish Arms Hotel, 23rd Street & 8th Avenue, N. Y. C. Admission $1.10. Auspices: **Monthly Review Associates, 218 West 10th Street, N. Y. C. OR 5-6939.**

## MEETING

Monday, NOVEMBER 22, 1954, 8:15 P. M.
HEAR
**CAREY McWILLIAMS**
Editorial Director, *The Nation*
on
**WHAT WILL THE NEW CONGRESS MEAN?**
- for JOBS?
- for FOREIGN POLICY?
- for PEACE . . . or . . . WAR?

*Chairman:* Professor Robert J. Havighurst
ILL. COMM. FOR PEACEFUL ALTERNATIVES
1174 East 57th Street, Chicago, Illinois
Donation 50¢

BUY
UNITED STATES
SAVINGS BONDS


perilous moments; but most of the time it was amazing, and even uncanny, to hear the precision and tonal beauty that were the continuing result of the years of playing together under Toscanini's disciplining hand; and thus the performances were a great orchestra's moving tribute to his powers and labors.

The record I mentioned offers astonishingly precise, beautiful-sounding, and effective performances of Berlioz's "Roman Carnival" Overture and Tchaikovsky's "Nutcracker" Suite; and in fact the solo flute and clarinet do *not* lag behind the orchestra in the "Nutcracker" Overture Miniature as they do in the Toscanini performance issued by Victor. In addition the orchestra's recording engineer achieved better-sounding reproduction of its "Nutcracker" performance than the Victor engineers did of Toscanini's. The orchestra's record also offers a "Meistersinger" Prelude which is less effective than Toscanini's on the Victor record—i. e., slower, less buoyant, and less powerful—but much more clearly and beautifully reproduced than his.

The hurricane kept me from the New York City Opera's revival of "The Tales of Hoffmann"; but I attended a performance of the revived "Love for Three Oranges," and must report that as on previous occasions I was embarrassed by most of the humor in the play and most of the fancy production that amused the audience hugely. The exception was Richard Wentworth's burlesque performance of the Cook; and otherwise the pleasure of the occasion for me was again provided by Prokofiev's youthfully exuberant and inventive and brilliant score, the improved playing the orchestra did under Rudel's direction, the singing of William Wilderman, Lloyd Thomas Leech, Jean Handzlik, Lawrence Winters, and Norman Treigle.

The Little Orchestra Society opened its season with one of Thomas Scherman's better programs, which offered a beautiful Sonata for brass by Giovanni Gabrieli, a famous modern work, the Three Pieces from the Lyric Suite of Alban Berg (which conveyed as little musical sense to me as Berg's other instrumental music), Mahler's "Lieder eines fahrenden Gesellen," and Act 1 Scene 2 from "Euryanthe," which has some of Weber's finest music. The one example of Mr. Scherman's deficiency as a program-maker—his inability to tell what is from what is not worth playing—was a Dixtuor for winds by Enesco, which was unbelievably trite and banal, written badly for the instruments, and played raucously under Mr. Scherman's direction. The works by Gabrieli, Berg, and Weber were played well; but in Mahler's songs the orchestra was occasionally too loud for the singing of Elena Nikolaidi. It is four years since the recital about which I reported that in the same Mahler songs and aria from "Euryanthe" Nikolaidi had produced and manipulated her magnificent contralto tones with a fire and intensity that made the performances something to cherish among one's recollections of the wonders achieved by human powers. The tones no longer have their former magnificence; but the fire and intensity again made Nikolaidi's performances an exciting experience; and in the scene from "Euryanthe" there was lovely singing by Phyllis Curtin.


## HANDWRITING ANALYSIS

**HANDWRITING ANALYSIS** by professionally trained psychologist-graphologist. Commercial and industrial personnel selection. Vocational guidance. Marital, personal, emotional problems. Free $3.00. **Dr. Hans Weil, 7½ Jane St., N. Y. C. 14. Telephone: CH 3-7880.**

## AUDIO

**HI FIDELITY**
**RADIO-PHONOGRAPH**
sales, installation and service
**VECTOR LABS**
217 3rd Ave. • N. Y. C. 3 • GR 3-7686

## SITUATION WANTED

**RESEARCH IN** history, economics, literary subjects desired by two experienced M.A.'s in libraries, etc. Boston, Cambridge, Box 386, c/o The Nation.

**FOR YOUR CONVENIENCE**

# Buy Your Books through THE *Nation*

*Nation* readers can avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular retail price post-free if payment is received with the order, or at the retail price plus postage if the book is sent C. O. D. No C. O. D.'s outside the United States. When ordering, please give name and author and publisher, if possible.

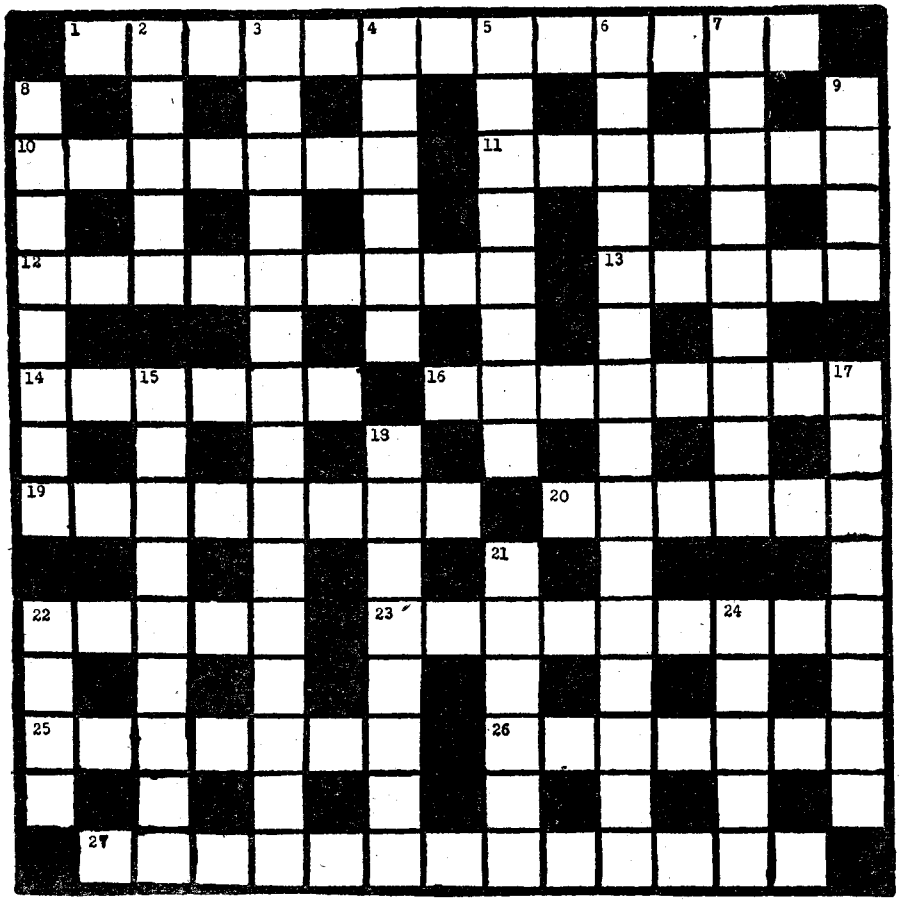
*Please address your orders to*
**Miss Le Pach**
**THE READERS' SERVICE DIVISION**
333 SIXTH AVENUE NEW YORK 14, N. Y.




LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# Crossword Puzzle No. 594

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



## ACROSS

1 Snapshot chaser? (13)
10 Not the place for in-patients. (7)
11 The corset at the side? (Evidently the last is long.) (7)
12 Try and see it—it's not likely to move! (9)
13 Copes with athletic events. (5)
14 Salutation used with a ruler? Such things come back. (6)
16 Attempts at camera effects in people's homes. (8)
19 Not allowed? No, not there. (8)
20 Noted baritone, somewhat like a Manx dog? (6)
22 Did he prove there's some ham in every philosopher? (5)
23 Speculative or visionary. (9)
25 Where their work is strictly seasonal. (7)
26 Boilers, perhaps. (7)
27 What the unhappy hen might be doing by design. (11)

## DOWN

2 Unpopular form of death. (5)
3 Educate people in their calling—but not out of their proper station! (5, 10)
4 Seldom straight in interlocution. (3, 3)
5 Agriculturists like to see this inventor! (8)
6 Does it grab instinctively? (9, 6)
7 4 down, perhaps, in politics. (9)
8 Luke? (3, 2, 3)
9 One vote, or more. (4)
15 The clue is chewed between parts of the chewer. (9)
17 If you come to grips, this might be fit example. (8)
18 Is it more ripe than another part of the flower? (8)
21 Spar or saint. (6)
22 Deep sea fish. (4)
24 One of the original medicine men. (5)

### SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 593

ACROSS:—1 TRAGICALLY; 6 SPED; 10 ERRATIC; 11 POOR LAW; 12 REVERSE ENGLISH; 14 CAST LOTS; 15 AWHIRL; 16 OSTEND; 18 TOBOGGAN; 22 LETTER OF CREDIT; 24 ROBERTA; 25 ADORING; 26 DEED; 27 LITTLE BEAR.

DOWN:—1 and 8 THE CRACK OF DAWN; 2 ARRIVES; 3 INTERPLANETARY; 4 ANCIENT; 5 LOPING; 7 PULASKI; 9 FOLLOW YOUR NOSE; 13 BLIND TIGER; 17 TREMBLE; 19 OFF-CAST; 20 GODLIKE; 21 ERNANI; 23 BRAD.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, New York.


*RESORTS*

LAKE LOUANNE, ideal spot for rest and relaxation. 200 acres woodland, rustic trails, private lake. Charming home with fireplace. Large rooms with private baths. Delicious home cooking. Small group, informal and cultured atmosphere, friendly service. **Louis Cudroff, Old Clinton Road, Westbrook, Conn. Phone: CLinton 6-2465.**

**50 Miles to FOREST HOUSE**
Near enough for easy travel, far enough for an unforgettable vacation. Forest House achieves new levels of gay relaxation in inspiring surroundings. Superb food, fine accommodations, cordial hospitality. Two grand lakes. All sports.
**FOREST HOUSE**
**Lake Mahopac, N. Y. • Tel. Mahopac 8-3449**

**For Your YEAR-ROUND Vacation Plans**
**CARAN LODGE**
**Sylvan Lake • Hopewell Junction • New York**
60 miles from New York on Taconic Parkway
Tennis, Folk Dancing and Singing, 4 cozy fireplaces, 10 minutes from James Baird Golf Course. Children's Day Camp. Food . . . Superb and Abundant.
**Take a drive and have Sunday Dinner with us**
**Reservations:**
**New York HI 6-7506 Hopewell Junction 6-2632**

***Green Acres Lodge***
**45 Miles N. Y. C. • OPEN ALL YEAR**
**Picturesque Estate Seasonal Sports**
**Excellent Food**
**Central Valley, N. Y. Tel: Highland Mills 3071**

*APARTMENTS TO SHARE*

**ROOM** to rent, attractive, large, furnished, kitchen privileges. To woman. $50. Riverside Drive near 95th Street. AC 2-4470.

**COLLEGE** graduate will share his modern, elevator apartment, in The Village, with responsible gentleman. $60. AL 5-4619.

**A HOME WITHOUT ITS RESPONSIBILITIES.** Cultured woman will share with congenial, mature business or professional woman, her comfortable apartment. $50. Jackson Heights near subway. HI 6-0696.

*PERSONALS*

**WHAT IS YOUR "I. Q."?** You may now take an excellent, scientifically standardized General Intelligence Test for adults in the privacy and convenience of your own home. Confidential report. **Send only $2 to University Test Bureau, Desk B, Box 401, Palo Alto, California.**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| LIONEL SETS 1467W, 1465 | | 40% off |
| Stag Handle Carving Set | 17.95 | 10.70 |
| Poultry Shear | 8.95 | 6.30 |
| Carving Board | 10.95 | 6.50 |
| Centa Stainless Steel | | 30% off |

**STANDARD BRAND DIST.,** 143 Fourth Avenue (13th & 14th Sts.), N. Y. C. GR 3-7819. **1 hour parking or 2 tokens.**

***Advertising Rates***

**CLASSIFIED**
**74¢ a line (6 words)**
**Three-line minimum**

**CLASSIFIED DISPLAY**
**$7.42 per Inch (minimum)**
**Remittance must accompany all orders**

***The* NATION**
**333 SIXTH AVENUE**
**New York 14, N. Y.**
**CHelsea 2-8400**





Printed in the U. S. A. by STEINBERG PRESS, INC., Morgan & Johnson Aves., Brooklyn 6, N. Y.





LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# Seized! Censored! Suppressed!

**Readers of The Nation are offered three books which have been widely suppressed because they offend powerful individuals or pressure groups.**

## 1. "The Secret Life of Walter Winchell"
**by Lyle Stuart**

It was inevitable that if ever Walter Winchell were to come to judgment in a book, that book would be a cruel one. Here is a complete account of the intimate life of Walter Winchell, and it is therefore a very cruel book—the most careful, the most conscientious and yet the cruelest book ever offered by a publisher on this side of the Atlantic.

*It has come as a stunning shock to W. Winchell, violator of a generation's privacy, that his own privacy has at last been forced.*

**CENSORED!**

By the New York Times, New York Herald Tribune, Saturday Review of Literature . . . ("We don't want to get into trouble with Winchell," was the candid comment of Saturday Review who would not publish a simple ad announcing the book's publication.)

**SEIZED!**

By the District Attorney's office of New York City. In a raid on the book's publisher, hundreds of copies were seized—and for two weeks no remaining copies were permitted to leave the premises as an armed policeman stood guard.

Shortly after the manuscript of this book was completed, its author was attacked and beaten by three hired thugs. Two of them have been apprehended and were recently convicted after a two-day trial by jury. They "don't know" who hired them.

Though hundreds of copies are still being held by the District Attorney of New York City, we guarantee delivery of the book by mail at **$3** a copy.

**EXPOSÉ**
**Dept. N-8, 225 Lafayette Street, New York 12, N. Y.**

Please send me, postpaid, the items I have checked:

_____ 1. "The Secret Life of Walter Winchell," by Lyle Stuart, $3.
_____ 2. "Tell the Truth and Run," by George Seldes, $2.
_____ 3. "A Personal Jesus," by Upton Sinclair, $2.
_____ Check here if you want all 3 for $7 (a saving of $3.25 from the regular retail price).
_____ Also send me a copy of Exposé with the story of "The Christophers," for which I enclose 25¢.
_____ Enter my 11-issue subscription to Exposé for which I enclose $2.

Name_____

Address_____

City_____ Zone_____ State_____

## 2. "Tell the Truth and Run"
**by George Seldes**

Non-conformist George Seldes tells the inside story of his 45-year fight for a free press. This is the autobiography of one of the most controversial journalists of our time.

Here, first hand, are described Seldes' conflicts with editors and publishers, generals, dictators, presidents and premiers. Here are the facts of his courageous defiance of Moscow, his years of battle with Mussolini, his encounter with the Vatican.

Because it names names and is frankly critical of the dishonesty of the newspapers, the newspapers of the land have treated this book with a conspiracy of silence. No reviews—not even a listing of it in the book sections—and this to an author whose *Lords of the Press* is "must" reading in journalism schools and eight of whose previous books have been best-sellers!

Why are the newspapers so sensitive about this one? Why are they so careful to see that their readers don't even learn of its existence?

*Tell the Truth and Run* is available at some bookshops at $3.75. You may have a copy for only **$2.**

Exposé, whose advertisement this is, is a monthly tabloid, independent and liberal, which publishes news and stories other papers dare not print.

The lead story in the current issue is a study of the movement known as "The Christophers," and its place among censorship pressure groups.

You may have this issue for 25¢. Or you can subscribe to the next 11 issues for only $2.

## 3. "A Personal Jesus"
**by Upton Sinclair**

Upton Sinclair shows the way to faith for those unwilling to accept dogma.

Here is the product of sixty years of study and thought on one of the world's greatest ethical teachers, by a tireless crusader for truth and justice.

A portrait of Jesus that does not offend rationalism.

This book has had much difficulty in becoming known. The New York Times suppressed its ads. Like the Times, other papers refused to mention or advertise the book—because its theme "might be insulting to many of our Church-going readers, who believe you must accept dogma to have faith."

*A Personal Jesus* is published to sell for $3.50. We offer copies at **$2.**

The Charles ... Library
EAST TENNESSEE STATE COLLEGE
Johnson City, Tennessee

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED